PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NEW JERSEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
VOLUME LXXVII, NUMBER 3, JULY 1959
WHOLE NUMBER 298

Maxim Karolik Talks with the Society

ONE day in March of 1958, when a savage blizzard was blowing over and blanketing northern New Jersey, fifty hardy souls braved the dangers of uncertain transportation to come hear Maxim Karolik talk with the Society. After an introduction, charming as ever, by his friend Miss Alice Winchester, Mr. Karolik sat at a table to read portions of two letters on the thinking that went into the formation of the great M. and M. Karolik Collections at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Particular attention is drawn to the dates of the letters. Mr. Karolik holds the same opinions today. The lecture was one of the 1958 "Tradition of the American Home" lectures. This series was devoted to "Tastes in Collecting."

THE M. AND M. KAROLIK COLLECTION OF AMERICAN PAINTINGS

"It [the collection] was made for one purpose only: To show what happened in this country in the art of painting in the period of half a century — from 1815 to 1865 — and to show the beginning and the growth of American landscape and genre painting. The aim was to make a collection not of 'Americana' for the antiquarian, but of American art for the nation.

"Our approach to this collection was primarily from the artistic point of view. It was the same approach as that to our eighteenth century collection — now belonging to your Museum. Each paint-

ing was judged and acquired on the basis of artistic merit. Names and history were of secondary importance.

"We discarded the motto of the fashionable connoisseur: 'Tell me who the painter is and I will tell you whether the painting is good.' Our motto was: 'Tell me whether the painting is good and I will not care who the painter is.'

"People who would like to see representative works by the well-known and much-praised painters will find them in this collection; but they are incidental to a larger purpose, which is to tell the whole story through that period — the story of the known, the little-known, and the unknown artists. Only an ensemble of all types of creative work, I believe, can adequately show what happened in that period. The well-known names — the popular Stars — are only part of the story.

"I know that there are some sensitive aesthetes who say that nothing of importance happened in the 1815-1865 period. I have had ardent debates with them on this subect during the past eight years. They usually grant that Copley and Stuart were 'quite good,' and then they jump to Homer, Whistler, and Eakins and accept them as 'very fine.' But what happened in between is lost to them.

"Now that the collection is completed, I am inclined to let it speak for itself. I believe that it will show how wrong the doubters and skeptics were. Many of them, I am glad to say, now candidly admit that they had not known what happened in that period. They even agree with me that this collection will convincingly prove that something ought to be done about the 'History of American Painting.' It certainly needs a fresh approach. Today we all recognize that this collection shows the importance of what happened in the period between Gilbert Stuart and Winslow Homer, and that chronologically and stylistically the sequence is now established. Knowing that, we cannot continue to sit still and do nothing about the above-mentioned 'History.' Later I hope to talk with you more on that subject.

. . .

"When my wife and I started to assemble the pictures, we had no idea that so much charm and diversity would be discovered. The simplicity and directness of expression in these pictures are

to me utterly fascinating. As I see it, it is an art not of abstract beauty, but based on the events of everyday life.

"The artists represented in this collection were realists. They knew and reacted to their surroundings. Their realism has nothing to do with pictorial journalism. It is a realism with a 'poetic touch,' filtered through the artist's imagination. It could not have been otherwise, for without these 'artistic attributes' the work of an artist, as you know, is never creative.

"I believe that even the sophisticated, the over-civilized will find something in this collection that may surprise them. What will surprise them most is the achievement of the little-known and the unknown artists. They will discover that many of these artists were not in the least provincial in their technique, taste, and sense of color. For those who know the cultural background of the first half of the nineteenth century in this country, this fact may be truly astonishing. And it proves that if beauty is the illumination of man's creative spirit, then it is the artist, through his perceptions, who is the conveyor of the things life entails.

"It is a particular cause of gratification to us to have brought to light fine works of art by little-known and unknown artists — the 'unknown soldiers' of aesthetic creation. And who can deny that their paintings are true works of art? Not even a sophisticated snob who was brought up solely on the 'Old Masters.'

"It is childish, I know, to mention it, but I must admit that the bigger the collection grew, the more impish my delight became in challenging the self-complacent connoisseurs — as if to say: Come out of your shell, you, great authorities on the 'Italian Renaissance' and the 'Dutch Masters' and the 'French Impressionists,' come out and prove to me that I am wrong in believing that these pictures are works of art.

"This collection, as a whole, represents a distinctive phase in the history of American painting. There is no doubt that it has its own story to tell. And it is for us, who believe in that story, to see that it is presented to the people fully and boldly, so that it may appear to them as a significant story, not only as a lovely one.

"Strange as it may seem, the most interesting material for that story will be found in the pictures of the little-known and the

unknown artists, who did not have 'Patrons of Art' for sponsors.

"It may sound boastful, but it is certainly no exaggeration to say that this collection cannot be ignored — either artistically or sociologically. And whether some like it very much, others like it less, and still others like it not at all is, in my opinion, of no consequence.

"My wife and I believe that whatever changes have occurred in the art of painting in this collection will always show the native roots from which that art developed. One hundred or five hundred years from now (barring, of course an atomic explosion) this collection will still serve to show the beginning and the growth of American landscape and genre painting. As to the portraits, part of them show the continuation of the eighteenth century tradition; another part (the so-called 'Primitives') has nothing to do with that tradition. In technique and expression it contains its own characteristics.

"The primitive group in this collection will prove that among the unknown painters in this country were a number of men of exceptional talent. Fortunately, they had no academic training. Because of this they sometimes lacked the ability to describe but it certainly did not hinder their ability to express.

"I understand better now what an Englishwoman with an observing eye — Mrs. Anna Jameson — meant when she wrote after her visit here in 1837: 'While in America I was struck by the manner in which the imaginative talent of the people had thrown itself forth into painting; the country seemed to swarm with painters.'

"The pictures in this collection and Mrs. Jameson's keen comment, I believe, will force the ivory-tower intellectuals to come down to earth and look around a bit. They will discover that, beside Washington Allston, the 'Hudson River School' painters, and the few well-known names in portraiture, a great deal more was going on in the 1815-1865 period. In my opinion, they cannot afford any longer to look down upon the little-known and the unknown artists as if they were 'proletarians' in art. These 'proletarians' may give them a jolt.

"I cannot help laughing when I think of the time Mr. Constable and I discussed the Primitives. Before we worked out to-

gether our plan of procedure, we were doubtful whether we could find Primitives that would be accepted as works of art, as distinct from 'Americana.' Today you can see how our doubts were resolved!

. . .

"Thinking over what happened during the past three years and going back to the time when Mr. Hipkiss and Mr. Rossiter collaborated with me in making our eighteenth century collection, I can truthfully say that your Curators are alert and men with ideas, not merely good executives. The manner in which they responded to both our Museum plans made us feel that in making these two collections we were realizing their own dreams. This impression gave me the assurance that my 'exotic' ideas would not frighten them; that my 'ferocious' enthusiasm would not exhaust them.

. . .

"I would like to finish now on the same note as that of my first letter to you. We all know what has happened to our world since I last wrote to you. Today we are in a more somber mood. Many thoughtful people, after all that they have witnessed, wonder whether it is desirable, or even possible, to reconvert ourselves to the pre-1939 way of thinking. The events of the past six years are of such range and scope that it is impossible as yet to grasp their full meaning. But to me it is clear that the art treasures, hidden underground to avoid war's destruction, proved to be a great unifying force.

"Millions of people all over Europe, having found themselves utterly uprooted materially, suddenly realized that to lose their art is to lose their souls as well. As nations, they instinctively feared that they would lose their identity and become a mob, not a people.

"The moral force contained in the arts was recognized by millions only after they went through the wringer of physical and mental suffering. Even our own people, though spared the physical horrors of the European experience, are nevertheless manifesting a renewed interest in the arts as a means of escape from the mental anguish caused by a frightful war. This concern about the arts shows that they are becoming more and more a cultural

necessity for the many, instead of a luxury for the few. And not only as an aesthetic pleasure, but also as a spiritual comfort which springs from the realization that the arts, including Music, are the expression of the divine in man.

"If the leaders of the fine art institutions are capable of recognizing that fact, then there is a possibility for art museums to become a powerful factor for unity among men. They can make people understand that an art museum is that cathedral where men come not to pray for something, but to be in contact with that Divine Spark in the men who created the objects of beauty spread before them. They can explain that here is the place where beauty transcends the barriers of nationality, race, color, or creed; here is where no mystic questions are asked: Who are you? Where do you come from? or Where are you going? A man entering this cathedral does not need a label: he can see for himself that here even East and West ('the twain') do meet in a brotherly spirit.

"The above passages may strike you as a bit dreamy. Perhaps they are. But they come, I assure you, not from a 'star gazer.' I firmly believe in the meaning of these passages. I am stating them as plainly as I can, because I want you also to know our sociological approach to this collection.

"Observing the activities of the art museums and symphony halls in this country during the past twenty years and seeing the reaction of the general public to these activities, I came to the conclusion that the old slogan of the elite, 'Art for Art's sake,' is gone forever. The new slogan, 'Art for Life's sake,' is here to stay.

"It is obvious, for those who are able to see, that the fine arts and music are becoming interwoven more and more with the daily life of the people of this nation. I am convinced that through the influence of these twin arts we shall have in years to come a much finer type of citizen. It is this type of citiezn who will be capable of building the Democracy we all long for—the Democracy in which worth, not wealth, is the measure.

"You already know that in offering this collection to the people through the Museum of Fine Arts my wife and I are not making 'noble gestures.' I repeat what I said to you in my first letter: We are not 'Patrons of Art' or 'Public Benefactors.' We

refuse to accept these banal labels. We accept with pleasure only one label: 'Useful Citizens.' "

The above excerpts are taken from a letter written by Maxim Karolik, December 10, 1945, to George H. Edgell, Esq., director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, found in M. AND M. KAROLIK COLLECTION OF AMERICAN PAINTINGS 1815-1865 *(Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1949).*

"My wife and I want you to know that all our things of true Museum value ought to go to the Museum of Fine Arts. Why?—Because the great mass of people, we believe, unconsciously long for beautiful things.

"Having the desire to see beautiful things, and not being able to possess them, the average man—not only the student of Art and the intellectual aesthete—will realize that private feeling of possession is, after all, of very little importance. He will understand the purpose of this collection: to give him the opportunity to enjoy works of Art in his leisure time for all time. That, we think, will make him feel finer, if not better.

"And there is another reason why we think our collection should be in the Museum: We firmly believe that in the Fine Arts, as in Music, lie the permanent human values—values which cannot be changed by any brown, black, or red shirt—Fascism, Communism, Nazism, or any other ism. These human values can never be changed, because they are above earthly symbols."

The above excerpts are taken from a letter written by Maxim Karolik, December 7, 1938, to George H. Edgell, Esq., director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, found in M. AND M. KAROLIK COLLECTION OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN ARTS *by Edward J. Hipkiss (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1941).*

ESTHER LEWIS CHAPIN

MEMBERS of the Society learned with regret of the death of Mrs. Charles Merrill Chapin, Sr., of Bernardsville on 22 June 1959. Mrs. Chapin was elected a contributing member of the Society on 4 October 1920, thus beginning an interest which continued for the rest of her life. At the time the present building of the Society was erected, Mrs. Chapin endowed one of the exhibition galleries and was consequently elected a patron. Few New Jerseymen were more generous to the Society and more interested in its welfare than was Esther Lewis Chapin.

Four Wilson Campaign Speeches

RANSOM E. NOBLE

Below are the third and fourth speeches delivered by Woodrow Wilson during the New Jersey gubernatorial campaign of 1910 in which he first gained public prominence. This is the concluding half of Dr. Noble's contribution, the first part having appeared in the April issue.

III

The third manuscript covers an address given in Morristown on the evening of November 3. Despite a beating snowstorm, a large audience turned out to hear Wilson speak at the Lyceum:[25]

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Colonel Bacon[26] has quite destroyed my sense of identity, and I can see where his error began; he spoke of me at the outset, after I came in, as a lion; he has mistaken the beast; I am a tiger! It is therefore evident how he got all his description mixed in the last part of his speech. It has been my misfortune to interrupt Colonel Bacon in several of his addresses, which I regret exceedingly, for I am always sorry to have him stop. I feel about speaking as a noted English author once said he felt about his books, that in order for him thoroughly to enjoy them it was necessary that they be written, either in whole or in part, by somebody else. So it is with me; I would a great deal rather hear the speeches that other people make, especially at this juncture of the campaign.

Because as the campaign draws to a close I find myself feeling in a sense the solemnity of it. It was great fun at first; it was great fun to come out and be critically scrutinized as a closeted schoolmaster who was trying to play an unaccustomed part, but as I have faced audience after audience and have seen the eagerness of the faces that I have faced to discuss not candidates, not the fortunes of parties, but the fortunes of a

[25]Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-09.

[26]Colonel Alexander S. Bacon of Brooklyn, N.Y., who was apparently a speaker at a number of Wilson campaign meetings. See Charles Read Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 209, and Newark *Sunday Call*, Nov. 6, 1910, where he is listed as speaking at the November 5 Newark meeting. Col. Bacon (1853-1920), West Point graduate, lieut. col. in the National Guard, and practicing attorney, was an independent Democrat active in New York politics. He had worked with Mayor William J. Gaynor, and twice ran for office on independent tickets. He was an early champion of Wilson for President. Henry Isham Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, Counties of Nassau and Suffolk, Long Island, New York, 1609-1924* (New York, 1925), IV, 386-88.

commonwealth and the probabilities of such policies as would lift the commonwealth to a new level of accomplishment, I felt how serious a matter it is to stand for office amongst a people who are expecting great things of those whom they may elect to office, for I have never been deceived, ladies and gentlemen, about the character of government. Government consists of the men who compose it, and I cannot imagine anything more solemn than the sense that a great body of your fellow citizens have deliberately trusted you with a great enterprise in which they expected you to be their spokesman and representative.

We have discussed before many audiences this year the issues of the campaign. I have taken pride in pointing out that the platform of the Democratic party is not a body of rhetorical phrases but a definite program of what they wish to do for the State, and I have again and again called the attention of the audiences we have addressed to this interesting difference between the republican and the democratic case. In the republican case the candidate and the platform do not match; in the democratic case they do. I have not advanced a single position in these speeches that is not to be found explicitly stated in the democratic platform, whereas, Mr. Lewis, displaying more and more as the campaign has advanced his own liberal tendencies and opinions, has added item after item of personal conviction on his part that is not to be found in the republican platform. Apparently, therefore, I have a party behind me, and Mr. Lewis has not; but inasmuch as I am arguing, to my great embarrassment, for my preference over Mr. Lewis, you will see that I am precluded from arguing it on the basis of our opinion, on the basis of what we individually stand for. What basis is left, therefore, for argument? Nothing but the personal basis, and that is extremely embarrassing. Mr. Lewis has been in active public life a long time; I have never been in active public life; I have only taken pains to understand public questions, and therefore there is no basis that I can think of except one for commending myself to your suffrages. That one is not my personal ability, not my personal character, but my—if I may so express it—impersonal connection. I have not been bred in a political organization and Mr. Lewis has been bred in a political organization. What I want to point out to you as the main theme of what I have to say, is that not only is the fundamental matter in government to find men who can be trusted in the administration of affairs,[27] but men who can be expected in the administration of affairs to resist temptation.

I don't mean the gross kind of temptation; I don't mean the temptation of money. I think to most self-respecting men there is no temptation in money, in money evilly got. But there is very great temptation in those things that tug at the heart strings. I can imagine that a man

[27]Here I follow the reading in Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 208. The typescript omits the "is" after "only" and inserts it after "government."

bred by long custom to cooperate with a particular body of men in party questions would find it very difficult to accomplish things according to his own judgment. That is the subtlest temptation that concerns us; and what I want to intimate to you, without desiring to cast aspersion on anybody's character, for that is not part of the argument, is that we have had programs of action before, and made rather explicitly by the Republican leaders, but they have never been carried out.[28] The most interesting thing in answering that question is that we don't know why they have not been carried out; nobody can tell you why they have not been carried out, which means that politics are now based on private understandings which are none of our business. If you will not give me some other rational explanation, and if nobody can tell me except by intimation why these programs are not carried out,[29] I am warranted in coming to the conclusion that it is not something which can be discussed in public. There may be reasons for that, for there are things which I am pleased to admit it is not in the public interest to discuss publicly, because they would be misinterpreted and misunderstood, but what I seriously object to is any government conducted upon the basis of private understanding with anybody.

We are trying to change the character of politics in this campaign, and we are trying to change it in this fundamental particular which cuts to the heart of every thing politically. We are not trying to put political organizations out of business, for that would be to put parties out of business. You have to have great bodies of men banded together for political purposes. But the kind of political organizations we are trying to put out of business are those kinds of organizations which have connection with particular interests, and which, whether innocently or guiltily work in terms of the special interests. If you try to settle any public question in terms of the special interests you are sure to settle it wrong; if you try to settle the question of the tariff on wool from the point of view of the woolen interests, and only from the point of view of the woolen manufacturers, you will inevitably settle it wrong. If you try to settle the steel tariff from the point of view of men in the steel industry, you will settle it wrong, unless it happens that the men in the steel or the woolen industry are cast in the frame and the mold of statesmen and who see that their prosperity is bound up in the prosperity of the country. In that instance, if they can give you advice which squares with the interests of the country and at the same time increases their prosperity, they are safe advisers. But if you are looking at it only from the point of view of present and immediately present profits of any industry,

[28]Again I follow Bacon's reading, *op. cit.*, p. 209, in ending the sentence here. In the typescript it continues: "after, or have never been carried out."

[29]Again following Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 209. The typescript reads: "If you will give me some other rational explanation, and if anybody can tell me," etc.

and look at only one industry at a time, then you will be inevitably led astray.

The trouble with a great many of our public men is that they are led in a particular direction according to the nearest and strongest pressure. It is pressure on the mind as well as on the conscience, and pressure on the judgment. I have many a time felt that pressure myself. I have argued that it was not for the interest of the country, and I have been told by men who knew more about it than I did that I did not know what I was talking about, and, knowing in detail that I did not know what I was talking about, I could not answer their argument. I have sometimes looked up the facts afterwards and have found out that I was right and they were wrong, and sometimes I have found that they were right and I was wrong; and your judgment gropes, is at a loss, feels the pressure, a pressure that holds strong and masterful men. That is a dangerous influence in politics, for it has in it this element, that it is not based on the common interest but upon a special inerest.

Then there is another kind of temptation that public men are open to — that is, another kind of pressure — I mean the pressure of force. I suppose the most common conception among certain men is that their parties reward and discipline, that they reward men who have worked for the party and discipline those who have opposed it. If I could tell you some of the things that go on in some of the communities in this State, you would see the force of that illustration. I know some men who cannot get a license unless they vote and continue to vote according to the beliefs and plans of the men from whom they get their licenses. I know of men who can indulge in any disregard of law so long as they stand in with persons who are influential in the making up of Grand Juries. I know of all sorts of intricacies and underground processes by which parties are maintained as instruments of control, for the control of other men's lives and fortunes.

We passed a law some time ago which obliged workers at the polls to keep at least a hundred feet away from the voting place. Why? Because they stood by the polls and handed tickets out and when their employes came along they did not dare take any other ticket, and they were watched until they put those tickets in the box, and they knew that their wages depended on obeying orders. Obeying what orders? The orders of the political organization. That is one of the things that a civil service reform law is for.[30] A civil service reform law does not, I suppose, greatly enhance the efficiency of service. There is something a little ridiculous about filling offices by examination tests, because it is very difficult to set tests along a line which has anything to do with the duties the man who is given office is

[30]Agitation for civil service reform, one of the important issues of the progressive era, had resulted in a 1910 New Jersey law placing many state office-holders under the merit system and permitting municipalities to adopt civil service rules. Noble, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-45.

to perform. I have never had any confidence in test examinations; they are a crude way of ascertaining, not whether a man knows anything or not, but whether he has made preparation for the examination or not. Many an ignorant man has received a college diploma because he has run the gauntlet, by intellectual dexterity, of examination. So there is a great deal of justifiable ridicule heaped upon civil service reform based on examination. But the real object of it is the manner of holding public office on a footing that cannot be controlled by men who are not superior to the persons appointed to office.

It is an interesting circumstance that we have constantly to admit that English politics are purer than American politics, but English politics began to be pure only when they were put on a civil service examination basis, and there was never anything in English politics that was not corrupt before that, and English politics were like American politics before we had civil service reform; they used their power as a means of a political reward and discipline. One of the strongest passions in the human mind is to punish a man for not agreeing with you. You know the story of the Englishman who said it was so absurd for the French to call bread *pain,* and the Frenchman said it was no more absurd than for the Englishman to call it *bread;* and the Englishman replied, "Oh, but it is bread you know." An Englishman thinks it reductio ad absurdum to intimate that every thing an Englishman says is anything less than rational. I must admit that feeling myself of persons who disagree with me, who are either very perverse or very ignorant.

I can very well understand the temptation of sending a man officially to Coventry to resist [for resisting?] the enlightening process of your own mind, and yet if you give a political leader that power of a political organization, that power would throttle the very organs of breath in the body politic. There is nothing more serious than that. The crux of the whole difficulty in politics in states — particularly in states like New Jersey — lies in the judicial appointments, in the legal appointments, in the appointments of prosecutors and of judges, particularly county judges. If you allow men to get the notion that organizations are meant for the maintenance of power then, as compared with the more gross corruption of money bribery, you have sunk to a deeper level than it is possible to sink in any other way; so that your moral is a simple moral, — that government consists in the state of mind and the attitude towards you and towards affairs of the men whom you put into office.

Government, gentlemen, is personal. It is not impersonal. That is the lesson that we are trying to learn all along the line. I stated in one of the early speeches of the campaign with regard to the disregard of law by corporations, that guilt is personal, and some of the newspapers took it up

as if that were a discovery.[31] I thought it was a commonplace, and I thought it was very obvious; and I stated it merely for the convenience of my argument. Of course, guilt is personal. I do not do wrong by proxy. I do wrong when I originate it or yield to it for myself. If I keep on in it, I am going to be damned and nobody else; I am going to be damned by some process or other, no matter what your theological beliefs are, because the most exquisite damnation is that knowledge of yourself that you have done the thing. You do not have to postpone your experience of hell until you die, as the great poet Dante shows, because in his Inferno are many persons who, at the time of writing the book, were still alive, but he knew where they were, and I doubt if they questioned his conclusions when they read the poem. All evil doing is, of course, personal, and guilt, therefore, is of course personal.

By the same proof government is intensely personal. It consists in certain freedoms and in certain bondages, and what we are trying to break up now in this interesting year of grace in which I speak is political bondage. We are trying to get away from the idea that parties are intended for the dispersion of responsibility, to come around to the idea that parties are intended for the support of responsible representatives who are expected to lead them in definite policies. If you conclude that I am not a suitable leader, I should not argue the matter with you at all; I might privately agree with you. But I could not agree with you if you tried in any way to escape the conclusion that on the eighth day of November you have got to choose a leader. I am sorry if you do not like either of the candidates, that your choice should be so limited, but that is due to the circumstance of the method of the nomination. You might have waked up earlier and through the process of our imperfect primary law, you might have put somebody else in nomination who was more in your mind; but inasmuch as you have got to this stage, there is not any other choice that you can make, and there is only one basis upon which you can make a choice, and that is the probability whether the one man will lead or not, or whether the other will lead or not.

Leadership is a very subtle matter. Leadership is based, first of all, upon knowing what you are talking about, and secondly in making yourself so troublesome to those who oppose you that, if only for the sake of peace, they will let you have your way. A very astute gentleman once defined popular government as a method of making it a very anxious and uncomfortable business because of a constant watchfulness and force of public

[31]In opening his campaign in Jersey City on September 28, Wilson had called for laws by which the responsibility of individual corporation officials for corporation actions could be established. See also his speech at Paterson on October 11. *Jersey Journal*, Sept. 29, Oct. 12, 1910.

opinion. What we are trying to do therefore, is first of all, to awake as we have awakened — I do not mean we in New Jersey, but all over the nation as speakers have awakened public opinion, and then to put upon public opinion the responsibility of choosing its spokesman. Parties are intended for the systematic support by organizations — by legitimate organizations — of the men whom the majority conceive to be in the right; and that is all they are for.

You do not get laws by agreeing that they are necessary, as I can prove to you from the last six years of history of New Jersey; for we have all been agreed that certain laws were necessary in the last six years, and yet we have not got them. It has been admitted at election time that they were necessary, but in the meantime they have been smothered in the legislature, that is, they have lost their ways, they have disappeared, in the labyrinth somewhere down in Trenton; they have got smothered, as the local expression is in Trenton. They have been smothered in committee, and that is because opinion has not got upon the warpath. You have not expressed yourselves in insistent judgment. Why, gentlemen, there is not anything that cannot be accomplish in America by a sincere man, there is not anything that cannot be accomplished by a man who seriously intends the public interest and who is found to be disinterested. America loves a bold man; America loves a fearless man, loves him so much that even when he is mistaken it will follow him if it believes that he is bold and sincere; loves him for his own sake, for his character, for his intrepidity, for the very fact that he is self convinced and has got the momentum of moral force. Such a man sometimes may even be dangerous. I have often felt that it seemed to me a mistake on the part of providence — if I may say so without irreverence — not to have made all fools knaves, because some fools are admirable persons, and loving them for their characters we follow them in their error. American politics has illustrated that again and again, that because he is bold, we do not scrutinize his opinion critically.

We have got to pay a very high price for liberty and political success in this country. We have got to exercise critical examination and at the same time that we criticize a man we have got to love him and believe in him. That is the hardest combination for the American people to effect — to be critical and at the same time to repose entire confidence in the man whom they are criticizing. Criticism is necessary as a tonic to him. I want to make this single suggestion — the only antiseptic in politics is vigilant public opinion; the only thing that is tonic and that will keep things pure is the effect of critical opinion upon the men whom we choose as leaders. There never was a time when America seemed more certainly bent upon doing this interesting and difficult thing than it is this year. New Jersey has hitherto, although the rest of the country was astir, resisted the contagion,

but this year something has happened that has admitted the contagion to our own air. Politics is becoming interesting here and men are looking with open eyes without prejudice or prepossession at questions as they are, are examining candidates as they are — though I must admit, to the great embarrassment of the candidates — but nevertheless applying the pitiless judgement of candid thought to things with regard to which they have hitherto looked as partisans, with prejudices and prepossessions.

Think, for example, of meeting a man, as I often did in previous years, who voted on present questions because the republican party conducted the civil war. That is an interesting but not a rational basis of action, because the civil war is over. Even elderly men amongst us have found that those passions have subsided in them. There is no longer the bitter feeling; there is no longer any bitter feeling about the matter, particularly on the part of the men who were engaged in the actual struggle; and yet there are men who have been voting the republican ticket because of traditions that run back into ages as antiquated as if they preceded the settlement of America, for America in the last generation has utterly changed all her economical and political landmarks. This is a new age in which a very few persons control so large a part of the wealth of America. We will have to try very hard to keep a steady poise under the pressure of such extraordinary circumstances, under the pressure of so extraordinary influences. Therefore it seems to me that this is a day in which America is trying to recover her pristine naturalness and simplicity of conduct in public affairs, coming at it without the mists that have gathered and formed about former questions in former days and directing our attention immediately to the issues that are before them.

The campaign draws to an end, and with it, as I have said at the outset, the solemn impression of what we are about. We are about to perform the characteristic thing for which America was established; we are about to express the judgment of a free people about their own affairs, the choice of a free people with regard to the men whom they choose to be their leaders and representatives in public questions. I wonder if there has ever come into your imagination the picture of what happens on election day. Look away from the polls in your own district, and forget all those petty discouraging things which happen in your own ward. Just think on the eighth of November of those millions of people in the forty-eight states, all gathering at the voting place. Full of what? Full of hope, that little flame of hope.

How impossible it seems to quench it. Politicians have tried to quench it by their neglect and folly, again and again and again, but it burns on with a serene flame which shows how immortal all processes of life are. They blaze up in us whether we would or not. Again and again, through

disappointment, through everything that is likely to dampen the energies, we crowd to the polls, hoping for what? Hoping for something that we have not got, for some one who will think in terms for the common good, for some one who puts his country before his party, hoping that the day will come when men conceive programs as those men conceived them when they made America, in the interest of mankind.

IV

Two days later, on November 5, Wilson brought his campaign to a brilliant conclusion with speeches in Glen Ridge, Bloomfield, East Orange, and a final appeal in Newark. The Newark meeting, scheduled for Krueger Auditorium at 8 P.M., *began attracting crowds as early as seven o'clock, and by the time Wilson arrived nearly three thousand people jammed the hall. His appearance called forth a tremendous welcome, the audience shouting, cheering, standing on chairs, throwing their hats in the air, and calling his name. Wilson started the demonstration all over again when he remarked, "It sounds like the cheering on the home stretch." "No mortal man," declared the enthusiastic reporter Charles Reade Bacon, "ever won the hearts of an awakened people like this man did."*[32]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It sounds like the cheering on the home stretch. Your greeting is certainly a most cordial and most welcome. I almost all but began the campaign in this room,[33] and for the last six weeks I have been hard at it, up and down the State and now I come back to report progress.

With your permission and indulgence I would very much like to pass, in brief review, the six weeks through which we have just gone. It has, I think we can all agree, been a very notable campaign, a campaign which has had many features in it that are likely to lift the hope and restore the confidence of men who believe in government by the people.

I started out six weeks ago at a meeting in Jersey City,[34] or rather at three meetings at which I was bidden to repeat myself, by outlining what seemed to me the Democratic opportunity — the opportunity of the Demo-

[32]Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 *ff.*

[33]Wilson had delivered an important early speech at the Krueger Auditorium on September 30; it was, in fact the first in which he had really come to grips with the issues that interested the progressives. Link, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-80.

[34]On September 28.

cratic party because no one else has seemed ready to recognize it and avail themselves of it — the opportunity to lead a great people seeking leadership in the effort to restore their government to its processes, to its ancient processes. Why, gentlemen, there has not been any such opportunity in a generation in this country as in this year to set the people of the Union an example as to what the people of a free commonwealth should have in the government and control of their own affairs. Do you know that all over this country there is a search, a search for principles, not a search for expedients, not a search for selfishness, not a search by men who are seeking to get something that will be for their own selfish aggrandizement, but a search for someone, some body of men, some party of men, who will set up again the ancient standards of principles which men used to gather about and follow in this country. Politics in recent years has degenerated in New Jersey as elsewhere, into a struggle for control, into an effort to preserve the integrity and power of an organization who held the people at arms length, and all over the country there has been the starting of opinion, the starting and gathering of revolt against the processes of politics because they are the processes of selfishness and not the processes of patriotism. I want to give honor where honor is due, and I want to say something about some of my republican fellow citizens.

You know what happened in Washington. There was no intimation that there was any split or division in the republican party until the present unspeakably selfish legislation known as the Payne-Aldrich bill[35] was passed or brought up. Then what happened? Certain men who were republicans said that this piece of legislation was not in conformity even with the professions of the republican party; it was not a measure for protection but a measure for patronage; that it was seeking to give favors where favors were not needed, and that its object was not the industrial object of America. That was said by United States senators, men who have gone out in the west and made a political revolution, all the while standing by them is that same democratic party mustering thousands of srong men over the country, where there were democrats waiting for the republicans to come to their senses, waiting for the republicans to see that this was not patriotic accomplishment, but self aggrandisement. So that it is nothing but the simple truth to say that the democratic party in respect to their principles, have been waiting for the country to recover its just point of view and see the public interest in its true light. We have been saying

[35]The Payne-Aldrich tariff act, passed in 1909, had belied 1908 Republican campaign promises for a downward revision of the tariff. It was fought by a group of insurgent Republican Senators including Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, Jonathan P. Dolliver and Albert B. Cummins of Iowa, Joseph L. Bristow of Kansas, Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota, and Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana. See Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era,* New York, 1932, pp. 333 *ff.*

all along of this policy that it would have sufficed a plea for the prosperity of the country had nevertheless been used, manipulated and maneuvred for private and selfish advantage until it no longer represented the interests of the American people, but only the interests of some selfish combinations of men.[36] Was it not then the golden opportunity for democracy to come into its own, to step forward and take the leadership of an awakened people in the return to sensible and safe policies — not only that, but to the methods of right politics?

What are the right methods of politics? They are the methods of public discussion; they are the methods of public opinion; they are the methods of open leadership, open and above board, not closeted with boards of guardians[37] or anybody else, but brought into the open, where honest eyes can look upon them and honest eyes can judge of their integrity. If there is nothing to conceal, then why conceal it? If it is a public game, why play it in private? That is the democratic inquiry — that is the inquiry of the United States. If it is a public game, then come out into the open and play it in public.You have got to cure diseased politics as we nowadays cure tuberculosis, by making all the people who suffer from it live out of doors; not only to spend their days out of doors and walk around, but to sleep out of doors; always be in the open where they will be accessible to those fresh, nourishing and revivifying things which are the only antiseptics in such circumstances. That was the thought with which we opened, if we wanted to restore politics to their former publicity, to their former freedom, to their former openness and their former candor and their old processes of leadership.

But we had a program, and we had a very definite program, indeed; we had a program that consisted of a catalogue of reasonable and progressive measures. It was not necessary that the candidates of the democratic party should be asked whether they believed in this, that or the other specific measure; it was in the platform. You did not have to question the candidate for governor on the democratic ticket; you did have to question the republican candidate, because his platform did not contain anything worth mentioning, and he has, stage by stage, added to the items that

[36]Dr. John Wells Davidson suggests that this obviously garbled sentence should read: "We have been saying all along of this policy that it would have sufficed as a plea for the prosperity of the country. It nevertheless had been used, manipulated and maneuvered for private and selfish advantage until it no longer represented the interests of the American people, but only the interests of some selfish combinations of men."

[37]In 1909 the New Jersey State Republican Committee, stronghold of conservatism, had become alarmed by the progressive leanings of Republican Governor John Franklin Fort and some of the state legislators. It therefore instructed its executive committee to be ready to give "assistance" to the lawmakers. The executive committee was promptly dubbed the "Board of Guardians," and became a symbol of reaction. Noble, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-09.

liberal policy which he proposed, and his party — his party managers, I mean — his party organization — has been extremely reticent as to whether they agree with him or not. The democratic candidate has a party behind him and the republican candidate has not a party behind him. The program contains that list of measures which is so familiar to you that it is hardly worth while to run them over by mention of the whole catalogue; you know what it includes, it includes some of the most important features; it includes a public utilities commission with genuine powers of regulation; it includes equal taxation; it includes the business like and economical reorganization and administration of the state government; it includes direct primaries; it includes an extension of the civil service; it includes the prevention of corrupt practices in elections, which, by the way is abundantly evident as a necessity.

I can show you registry lists for example, in the city of Camden which would be all the argument you needed for a revision of all your laws with regard to the ballot and the protection of its purity. For example your present law does not require you to appear in person to register, but you may be registered by affidavit. Well, you can register ghosts by affidavit; you can register all the thugs in the city of Philadelphia by affidavit; you can put them down as living at fictitious residences and have fifty men live where but two men actually live. All of that by the assistance of your present laws. And then you have not attempted to define what are legitimate campaign expenses; you have not attempted to limit them, to pledge campaign managers and candidates for office to publish itemized accounts of what they spend, and, what is more important, itemized statements of where they got the money.

But you want more than that. You want an employer's liability act that will work. You have got one now that does not work and was not intended to. You want not only that but you want the reasonable protection of that great body who sustain the health and energy of our community — I mean by that, the workingman. You want their proper protection by the sanitary inspection of factories and the enforcement of laws of sanitation, the proper limitation of labor, proper conditions of labor, and the proper limitation of the labor of women and children, because nowhere else does the health of the community rest so much as with the women and children.

There then are the great questions of conservation about which we have been so careless and so improvidnt. Why, if it had not been for the abundant rains in the month of June the Northern watershed of New Jersey would have bred diseases without limit because of bad legislation and the lack of very needed legislation — legislation which improvidently allowed a private company to divert the waters of the Passaic River, and

then allowed other persons to pollute what was left, until it has come about that there is no more solid body of water anywhere to be found. If you carried it much further, you could walk across it, if you didn't mind soiling your shoes.[38]

All these things are the familiar catalogue of what we want. In order to have a proper foundation for equal taxation[39] we should have revaluation of those things about which we talk so much and know so little—I mean the valuation of the great corporations. I surround my statements with cautious limitations when I know what I am talking about. Not only do you not know anything about the processes of taxation in this commonwealth, but there is not anybody who does. Your tax assessors copy the assessments of those who preceded them, and the whole matter of assessment and taxation is in a state of utter chaos in this commonwealth, and therefore the sooner we find out where we are the sooner we can get at justice and the sooner we can reach a point where we can discuss this question with knowledge. These are the programs of men who want justice done and want the ends of government stirred [served?] in the most economical and efficient manner.

I am not going to keep you here to listen to a discussion one by one of the issues of this campaign because they have been discussed until everybody has been brought, at any rate into a professed agreement. You cannot startle a man with a question to which he will not make answer in the most orthodox fashion so that the question that you are to determine in this campaign is: Whom are you going to trust to mean what he says? That is all. Very well then; what has happened? I want to speak very plainly to this audience tonight. I have now been into every county of the State, and I have seen audiences that would move the heart of any man, thronging in numbers and rallying around, not a party, not a person, not to accomplish some selfish purpose or interest, but to enjoy the experience of hearing the genuine interests of the genuine commonwealth candidly discussed. I have tried, throughout this campaign, to be as candid and as fair as I know how to be. I have tried always to dwell upon the merits of every question; I have tried to point out to the audiences that I have faced what they wanted to hear, and not only what they wanted to hear but what it was right to do in the circumstances.

What has been done on the other side? Has the level of the campaign been lifted by the methods of my opponents? Have you heard them discuss the questions in a frank and open mood? Have you not seen them dili-

[38]Here I have followed the reading in the Newark *Sunday Call* account of the speech (Nov. 6, 1910). The typescript reads "if you didn't want to soil your shoes."

[39]"Equal taxation" had been a battle-cry in New Jersey from the beginning of the Progressive Movement and even before. See Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

gently inventing stories against their opponents? Have you not seen them filling the public prints with personal matters which are without foundations of facts or justice? What do these gentlemen suppose public questions to be? Have they forgotten what American politics is? Have they forgotten that this is a question of what communities must do, and that it is neither here or there what individuals are? I have not been conducting this that I was the fittest person in the State of New Jersey to enjoy the confidence of my fellow citizens. That has not been in my speeches and it has not been in my thought. I have been trying to explain to you matters of policy, and I am met by aspersions of character.[40]

Now, these gentlemen have not discussed public questions. Have they forgotten how to discuss public questions; have they forgotten that the people of this commonwealth are entitled to hear public questions expounded? Is government so much a matter of habit, a matter of private arrangement, that they do not feel the necessity of trying to explain it to the people? We have been building, building and building, while they have been tearing down, tearing down, tearing down. Every acid that can eat they have been sprinkling abroad, and no balm that can heal, no tonic that can put fresh vigor in the body politic, no hope to lift the people to candid and energetic leadership. I do not speak of these things because I have been hurt, for I have not. These gentlemen have earned nothing except what it is very cheap to earn, my entire contempt. But it is neither here nor there what I think of them. The question is what do you think of them. If they cannot fight the battle of knowledge and of principle, let them get out of the arena. There are no challengers in this contest for the things that they know how to do; there are no challengers for such contests as they are accustomed to; the only challenge is as to what they are going to do, and they have not met the challenge.

What has been the result? Look at the response of the people of this State in the campaign; look at the response of the people of this State from Cape May to Sussex, and see what the people of New Jersey want. The people of New Jersey have not been sitting in private conference like some of these gentlemen. They have been discussing their affairs in the open way; they have been looking around the country, and they know that the rest of the country has heard that New Jersey is awake, and that she has stopped taking the drugs that have been offered her, that she has stopped waiting for people who never do what they promised to do; that whereas the men who would lead her on the Republican side reject,

[40]Wilson's opponents had been distributing circulars and pamphlets charging that he was an enemy of labor unions, antagonistic to the Catholic Church, a foe of European immigration, and that he had spoken disparagingly of the American flag. Link, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-87.

and reject with scorn, most of the men who speak liberally, liberal principles nevertheless are to the liking of the people, and only those who lift the banners of liberalism will have the people as their followers. That is what the people of New Jersey have meant as they have flopped [flocked?][40a] out, rain or shine, not to follow the Democratic party—we have stopped thinking about parties—to follow what they now know as the Democratic idea, the idea that the people are at last to be served.

Do you know what the American people are waiting for, gentlemen? They are waiting to have their politics utterly simplified. They are realizing that our politics are full of secret conferences, that there are private arrangements, and they do not understand it. They want to concentrate their force somewhere. They are like an unorganized army saying, "The thing is wrong. Where shall we congregate? How shall we organize? Who are the captains? Where are the orders? Which is the direction?" Where are the instruments of government? That is what they are waiting for. It is an opportunity of effort, and not only that, it is a terrible opportunity. Don't you know that some man with eloquent tongue, without conscience, who did not care for the Nation, could put this whole country into a flame?[41] Don't you know that this country from one end to the other all believe that something is wrong? What an opportunity it would be for some man without conscience but with unlimited power to spring up and say: "This is the way. Follow me" and lead them in the paths of destruction. How terrible it would be.

What is our duty then? Our duty is sobriety and patience, but leadership nevertheless is always the means of centering our affairs where it can be used for the recovery of our rights. Why, I have grown sick at heart to hear men discuss the interests of this industry or the interests of that industry, the interest of the employer, and the interest of the workingman, as if they were different interests. Why is it that we are face to face with this subject of the relation of the employer to the employe? Just suppose for a moment that the employer wished to see the thing from the point of view of the employe, that he wished his employe to know the exact conditions and details of his business and his account book, that he wanted to take him into his confidence and share with him the product of the business upon some equitable scale, and suppose that the workingman, equally fairminded, wanted to meet the employer, to see the figures that he showed him, and wanted to cooperate with him, to know that

[40a]The Newark *Sunday Call,* Nov. 6, 1910, reads "have trooped out."

[41]This sentence is garbled in the typescript, and I have followed the version in the Newark *Sunday Call,* Nov. 6, 1910. The original reads: "Don't you know that if some man without conscience, who did not care for the Nation, could put this country with eloquent tongue, without conscience, who did not care for the Nation, could put this all country into a flame?"

such and such were the figures, and that such and such wages were fair compensation, would there be any labor question?

That is why we want a Public Utilities Commission,—not to squeeze the railway corporations and the corporations that supply us with water, gas and electricity, not to put them out of business,—not to make what they undertake impossible because unprofitable,—but a commission whose inquiries can lay the whole state of the business before us, so that we may know what is just—so that we may be convinced by the inquiry of disinterested persons that the rates charged are reasonable rates,—and then we will pay them without grumbling; but let it continue to be such as it is said, without the means of contradiction or of knowledge, that such and such a corporation is earning such and such enormous dividends, and charging such and such rates, and there will continue to be misunderstanding—and misunderstandings which are dangerous to the body politic and prevent the accomplishment of anything in the process of adjustment, the process of justice which is at the foundation of good government.

See what you have a chance to do gentlemen. You have a chance to choose somebody for leader whom you will trust to lead you morally. You have a chance to choose somebody for leader whom you will trust to lead you moderately, not passionately, wisely, with knowledge, if he can go in the direction of a general understanding in his general movement forward. Now, I am free to admit that the methods by which we choose leaders in this country are whimsical methods. In many countries there are methods that are parliamentary methods, where men have proved their metal, and, having proved their metal, they have become leaders. You cannot make a man a leader by election, and you cannot keep him from being a leader by not electing him. If you want to prove the last proposition, look at some of our big cities and ask who are the bosses of these cities. In many instances I could point out men who do not occupy any public office at all, men whom the people never elected. And therefor they cannot put them out of anything; they are men of genius and men who have assumed leadership, and it is their genius that has put them where they are; and although men of genius, in some instances they are men of cunning, and you cannot put them out of business except by substitution, finding a better leader to whom the people will flock with heartiness and cheer that the others will be thrust to one side.

Now, when parties choose leaders, why do they choose them? Well, in America we elect delegates to a convention, and the convention gets together, and, by one process or another—sometimes by one process and sometimes by another—they choose a leader. If they choose somebody who has been in public life a long time, they have at least some gauge by which

to calculate his orbit; but if they choose somebody from the outside, then it is just a process of guessing; it is just as if they said, "We will bet you that this man turns out to be a leader." You don't know whether he will or not and the man himself don't know whether he will or not. But I need not apologize to you for your own methods. These are the methods by which you pick your leaders. Now, by these methods two leaders are picked out from whom you are to choose. The republican convention picked out one whom they thought was a good leader, and the democratic convention picked out one whom they guessed would be a good leader. Now I cannot verify either guess, and the only way you will know, and the only way I will ever know whether the democratic guess was good or bad is by trying.

I have had a good deal to do with various companies of men in America and I have found that they are good sports, and I believe you are going to take a sporting chance. But what does leadership mean, gentlemen? Here is the case: When you vote a ballot, just for curiosity, if you have the time, if they let you stay in the booth long enough, count the names on the ballot and ask yourself candidly how many of these men you know anything about. I saw a ballot once—and it was the longest ballot I ever saw—that had seven hundred names on it, and I don't believe that any conceivable man could vote a ballot like that with intelligence.[42] You have to fill all the offices there are, from top to bottom, by election, and you are so used, when you go through the process, to doing the same thing, that you don't know whether you accomplished anything or not. In the precinct I vote in Princeton, there is one of these wretched voting machines,[43] and you work a lever one way or the other,—you work it one way for one party and the other way for the other party—and I have often thought, so far as my knowledge of the ticket was concerned, that I might as well pull one lever as the other. I have to vote in a blind kind of way what I think is the probability as to what the one set of men will stand for or what the other set of men will stand for.

Now, what happens in these circumstances? There is nothing that the people of this country follow so much as the leadership of somebody whom they have chosen to do something, somebody to explain to them what is

[42]Ballot reform in New Jersey was long overdue. In 1908 an investigating committee described New Jersey's ballot as, with perhaps a single exception, "the most unsafe, the farthest removed from a secret ballot, and the most easily manipulated in the interests of fraudulent voting of any paper ballot in use in any northern state." Noble, *op cit.*, p. 135.

[43]Voting machines began to be introduced in some parts of the state in 1903, but they created such opposition among the voters that they were abandoned entirely in 1911. Richard P. McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1953), pp. 199-201.

going on, somebody who will come out in the open and propose policies to them and try to convince them of the wisdom and usefulness of those measures. So, just as I said a moment ago, as the people of this country have been following the wrong kind of leaders, there would be absolutely no resisting under a right leader. If you once get a leader in whose integrity and honesty you thoroughly believed in, he could lead you against any combination or machination that was set up against him, and you would thank God that at last they knew what they were about. You hear of debates in the legislature on this, that and the other subject, the push of this thing and the pull of that; one man says that is is necessary that a certain bill should pass and another man says that is would be iniquitous that such a bill should get through; one represents one district in the state and another represents another district in the state, and there is no common spokesman; it may be that each is trying to grind his own axe, and they can't choose somebody to come out and tell them what it means for the whole state, and let them judge for themselves.

Did you never reflect upon this interesting circumstance? There is only one person elected by all the voters of New Jersey; there is only one person elected by all the voters in the United States? If I were to sum up all the criticisms that have been uttered against the honorable and distinguished gentleman who is now president of the United States, it would be summed up in this, that the people are disappointed that he has not led them; they look to him to form processes of affairs and he refrains. I don't know why he refrains. I have, for myself, no criticism to make of the refraining, but the disappointment of the people is perfectly evident, because he refrains, and they long to see somebody go in there and do it, put upon Congress itself the pressure of opinion of the whole United States.

Now that is the only thing that will disentangle the complicated affairs of New Jersey, to put somebody in the governorship who will bring to bear on legislation the pressure of opinion of the whole of New Jersey. That is not only legitimate pressure, but it is a pressure that bears the most authentic stamp of legitimacy in America. The president or the governor who would try to accomplish his ends in respect of a legislative program by the use of patronage, and by appointments to office, does not deserve the confidence of any man. His only instrument, and his absolutely irresistible instrument, if he knows how to use it, is the instrument of public opinion. If he can get the people of the commonwealth to go with him and stand back of him, then there is no force in Washington or anywhere else that can withstand him. That I understand to be the meaning of this campaign. First of all, as I said, is the rehabilitation, the reestablishment of ancient policies of government, and then concentration

of public opinion in some particular leader. I believe that is the thing you ought to do.

Now, choose your leader. By doing so you will also choose your party, you will also choose your program. All the choices are involved in that, but that must be your choice; and I warn you that if you do not want the trouble [of] making up your minds for supporting a set of policies, then, don't elect me; there is no use in it; there is no use in beginning anything that you are not going to stay in yourself until it is finished. The governor does not constitute the government of New Jersey; the members of the legislature and the other officers[44] of the state do not constitute the government of New Jersey. Every drop of vitality and energy there is in the government, every drop of vitality and energy there is in New Jersey comes from the people of New Jersey, and if the people don't find the means of expressing themselves, then the whole process of election is futile. You need not take the trouble to vote unless [if?] your vote does not mean that there is dynamic force in every vote deposited in the ballot box. We decide things now by ballot; we don't decide them by bloodshed; we decide them by that magnificent irresistible force, the force of the concerted purposes of men.

Oh, if men would only realize the power that is in unselfish purpose. Selfish purpose has no power in it except to destroy, because not everybody's interest is the same, and when you and men of the same interests with yourself exert power, then you simply create the antagonism of men with other interests, and by the time you have all the interests stirred up you are going to have a grand melee and nothing accomplished. There is no propulsive and corrective force in that. The only force that you can imagine that accomplishes anything is unselfish force. The moment you commence to think in terms of the interest of New Jersey, not only will New Jersey be served, but your own interests and the interest of New Jersey will be extended, your lives broadened and made worth while.

Why do men come together in a manner like this? Are you all in the same occupation, are you all seeking the same purpose, are you all selfishly interested in the same enterprise? Is this body of men come together to promote the interests of a particular occupation or calling? If not, why do you come together? Why don't you hold separate meetings? Why don't you congregate in halls of particular clubs, unions and societies? Why have you all come together here? Because you are fellow citizens; because you are united in a single community and in a single commonwealth; because there are scores of things that you are interested to see done, that cannot put a cent in your pockets, but that can improve your health, ex-

[44]Here I follow the quotation in the Newark *Sunday Call*, Nov. 6, 1910, which reads "officers" rather than "offices" as in the typescript.

tend your enterprise and quicken the energy of the whole community.

Now the most cunning members of every community are the thieves in the community. Now, since the thieves are always naturally cunning and ingenious, why don't they overcome us? Because you know the old adage, that thieves will always fall out. The only men who can hang together are men of honest purpose, and the only purposes that can keep us together for action are disinterested purposes. That is the reason that the organization that fears scrutiny meets behind closed doors.

The reason, therefore, is that the spirit of hope, of unselfish purpose, is abroad. Men are tired of being governed by interests that are not the interests of the people, and are coming to look about like free men, like free citizens, and to ask themselves what the commonwealth desires, what the Nation needs; for America has undertaken to hold the lamp of progress up to the nations, not only to guide her own feet with a little lamp of her own kindling, but to guide the feet of all men who seek that which is just. When we think of the long struggle, we may be disheartened, but let no man who knows the destiny of the human race lose heart now. We have begun a fight that it may be will take many a generation to complete—the fight against special privilege, but you know that men are not put into this world to go the path of ease; they are put into this world to go the path of pain and struggle. No man would wish to sit idly by and lose the opportunity to take part in such a struggle. All through the centuries there has been this slow painful struggle forward, forward, up, up, a little at a time, along the entire incline, the interminable way, which leads to the perfection of force, to the real seat of justice and of honor. There are men who have fallen by the way, blood without stint has been shed, men have sacrificed everything in this sometimes blind but always instinctive and constant struggle; and America has undertaken to lead the way; America has undertaken to be the haven of hope, the opportunity for all men.

Don't look forward too much. Don't look at the road ahead of you in dismay. Look at the road behind you. Don't you see how far up the hill we have come? Don't you see what those low and damp miasmatic levels were from which we have slowly led the way? Don't you see the rows of men come, not upon the lower level, but upon the upper like the rays of the rising Sun? Don't you see the light starting, and don't you see the light illumining all nations? Don't you know that you are coming more and more into the beauty of its radiance? Don't you know that the past is forever behind us, that we have passed many kinds of evils that [are] no longer possible, that we have achieved great ends and have almost seen the fruition in free America? Don't forget the road that you have trod, but remembering it and looking back for re-

assurance, look forward with confidence and charity to your fellow men, one at a time as you pass them along the road, and see those who are willing to lead you, and say: "We do not believe you know the whole road. We know that you are no prophet; we know that you are no seer, but that you can see the end of the road from the beginning, and we believe that you know the direction and are leading us in that direction, though it costs you your life, provided it does not cost you your honor," and then follow your guides, trusting your guides, imperfect as they are, and someday when we are all dead, men will come and point at the distant upland with a great show of joy and triumph and thank God that there were men who undertook to lead in that struggle. What difference does it make if we ourselves do not reach the uplands? We have given our lives to the enterprise, and that is richer, and the moral is greater.

V

The effectiveness of Wilson's campaign and the strength of progressive sentiment was demonstrated on election day when he carried New Jersey by a plurality of nearly 50,000 votes[45]—a state which Taft and the Republicans had swept by a majority of 80,000 only two years before. With congratulatory messages pouring in from all parts of the country, and newspapers throughout the nation commenting on his victory, there was no longer the shadow of a doubt that a figure of truly national importance had emerged. The future was to show how momentous for the nation and for the world the emergence of Wilson had been.

[45]The figures were Wilson, 233,933, and Lewis, 184,573, with minor party candidates totaling 15,058. Link, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

The Death of Stephen Crane

E. R. HAGEMANN

New Jersey has produced few writers of real note. Of those few, however, Stephen Crane is certainly among the leaders, whose reputation as a journalist and novelist has grown in the passing years. The circumstances of his early death in 1900 are explored by the present writer, in part through American diplomatic records in the National Archives. Dr. Hagemann, assistant professor of English, University of California (Los Angeles), holds B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Louisville and a 1954 Ph.D. from Indiana University. His articles have appeared in American Literature *and several other journals.*

SOME TIME prior to May 17, 1900, possibly three or four weeks, Mr. Henry White, secretary of the American Embassy in London, dispatched a telegram to "Mrs. Crane, Brede Place, Brede Hill," Sussex, apparently in answer to a frantic appeal. It read: "only received your telegram on arrival at eleven sincerely regret to hear of Mr Cranes condition Have arranged with Dr Maclagan to leave 3.15 with nurse reaching Rye 5.37."[1] Crane, who had been ill, obviously was now in serious condition, for very shortly afterwards that same day Mr. White dispatched a second telegram, seemingly even more worried than ever: "Have only received your second telegram at five today. Do you wish Powell sent in addition to Maclagan who left at three."[2]

We can only assume that Cora was satisfied, although Crane did not improve. His illness was advanced tuberculosis, and hem-

[1]National Archives, Washington, Record Group 84, Miscellaneous Letters, February-October, 1900, Volume 73, C8.6. The original orthography has been retained throughout this article. A marginal note, almost but not quite illegible, tempts one to date the telegram as April 11, 1900, at "midday."

I am especially indebted to Mr. Carl L. Lokke, archivist in charge, Foreign Affairs Branch, National Archives, for his co-operation and help in my obtaining certain documents used in this article.

[2]*Ibid.* Identification of the physicians referred to in White's telegrams has been partially accomplished. Thomas John Maclagan, one of several physicians with that surname in England at the time, seems to be the man here. He was born at Scone, Perthshire, in 1838. He studied at Glasgow University and obtained his medical degree at Edinburgh in 1860. Postgraduate work in Paris, Munich, and Vienna and practice elsewhere followed before he permanently established himself in London in 1879. There he enjoyed a very successful practice and treated many well-known people, including Thomas Carlyle. He died March 20, 1903. See *British Medical Journal*, III (1903), 766, and *Lancet*, I (1903), 1000, for obituaries. About Powell I have learned nothing.

orrhages had wracked him pitilessly. A decision was made — by whom we can but guess, but most likely by Maclagan and Powell — to send him to the Black Forest. Cora and Stephen, their servants, Stephen's niece, and his dog, Sponge — his favorite — repaired to Dover and the Lord Warden Hotel, a large house near the railroad station and near the Admiralty Pier, from which steamers departed for Calais and Ostend thrice daily. The rooms had a fine view of the sea.[3] But the Crane entourage, as usual, was in a financial abyss.[4] Beer mentions their borrowing, and Mrs. Conrad discusses Cora's proposition that a boat purchased from G. F. W. Hope by both the Conrads and the Cranes be used to pay the fuel bill. What bothered Jessie was that Stephen and Cora had not even paid their share of the purchase price.[5]

Friends came to visit Crane and were shocked, saddened, by what they found. Joseph Conrad, himself ailing, lingered with his friend for a time on May 6 in response to a letter from Cora begging him to come. The letter had come to the Pent (the Conrads' home) just after Jessie had awakened from a strangely prophetic dream. She writes of her dreaming of Crane "lying on a stretcher," of his "being placed in an ambulance," of his being attended by "two nurses" and Cora, and of the ambulance "being driven to the coast as quickly as possible."[6] On his return from Dover, Conrad wrote to John Galsworthy, hopefully yet sadly: "I was awfully shocked of course and had to put on jolly manners. He may yet escape."[7] Robert Barr, who was to finish Crane's death-bed novel, *The O'Ruddy,* spent four days at Dover just prior to their departure. To a friend, he reported (some days later, after Crane's death) what he saw: a man who looked "already dead," who whispered, in reply to a hopeful commonplace

[3]*Great Britain; Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 15-16.

[4]"For poor Cora it was a pitiful business, she had not the means to pay for meals in the 'Lord Warden.' The nurses were fed outside, but I know that the wife often went without." Jessie Conrad, *Joseph Conrad and His Circle* (New York, 1935), p. 74.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 75.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 74.

[7]G. Jean-Aubry, *Joseph Conrad, Life and Letters* (New York, 1927), I, 294.

by Barr, "You damned humbug, you know I'll take no more rambles in this world."[8]

In the midst of these unhappy times, there was passport procedure to follow and the Crane party was delayed somewhat. Cora appealed again to the American embassy and again the people there moved to help her. A letter of instruction was sent to Dover.

May 17th [1900]

DEAR MRS. CRANE

The rule is that passports are only issued at this Embassy — but under the exceptional circumstances the Ambassador has directed Mr. F. W. Prescott our Consular Agent at Dover to proceed to the Lord Warden to receive your sworn declarations oaths &c. Mr. Crane's passport will include you and the two nurses — a separate one must be taken for Mr. Crane's niece and servant. This is written in on back.

The declarations will be returned here by the Consular Agent and your Passports will be sent forthwith to the Lord Warden Hotel from the Embassy.

Yours very Sincerely
J. R. CARTER.[9]

The Embassy was not being patronizing in their helpfulness: a considerable legal concession had been made in the name of compassion. The regulations were quite explicit on the issuance of passports, illness notwithstanding, the person concerned notwithstanding.[10]

[8]Robert Wooster Stallman, ed., *Stephen Crane: An Omnibus* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 695.

[9]National Archives, Record Group 84. John R. Carter, of Maryland, was the Second Secretary, American Embassy, London.

[10]The passport regulations of the time (1900) required that "a citizen of the United States desiring a passport while he is temporarily abroad should apply to the diplomatic representative of the United States in the country where he happens to be; or, in the absence of a diplomatic representative, to the consul-general of the United States; or, in the absence of both, to the consul of the United States." Carter's reference to one passport for several people was in obedience to a regulation that stated, "When an applicant is accompanied by his wife, minor children, or servant . . . it will be sufficient to state the fact, giving the respective ages of the children and the citizenship of the servant, when one passport will suffice for all. For any other person in the party a separate passport will be required." See *World Almanac and Encyclopedia*, 1900, p. 140.

On May 18, 1900, Mr. F. W. Prescott, an Englishman but the United States consular agent at Dover, without salary (his remuneration was in fees), presented himself to the Crane party at the Lord Warden and filled out an application for a passport for Stephen Crane. The information therein is interesting; the signature by Crane is yet more interesting — one of a dying man. The applicant said he was applying "to the Ambassador of the United States" for a passport for himself and that he was accompanied by his wife "Cora Crane" and "two nurses, viz Charlotte Gardner and Annie Taylor, and one man servant, Richard Heather." The applicant's residence was permanently at Hartwood, New York, and his occupation was that of "Author." He was "temporarily sojourning at Dover England," he stated, and then, with unintentional irony, further stated that he intended "to return to the United States within six months with the purpose of residing and performing the duties of citizenship therein." He wished the passport, so the application read, for "the purpose of travelling on the Continent of Europe."[11]

At twenty-eight years, six and one-half months of age, Crane stood seventy inches tall. His forehead was described as "high," his eyes "light blue," his nose "straight" and set in an "oval" face of "dark" complexion. His hair was "light brown." He seems to have shaved off his mustache, for no mention is made of it. (It had always been mentioned in previous applications.)[12]

Application Number 638 having been duly filled out, it was given Crane for his signature. In a shakily pitiful caricature — more like that of a person using his opposite hand to write — of

[11]Passport Office, Department of State, Washington, and National Archives, Record Group 59. The passages within quotation marks indicate what Prescott wrote in on the application. It is pointed out that what is being dealt with here is not Crane's actual passport but rather the application. The passpart has not been found. I am indebted to Mr. Edward J. Hickey, deputy director for administration, Passport Office, for supplying me with the photostatic copies of Crane's applications.

[12]Crane's physical description varied somewhat on previous applications made in the United States on November 23, 1896, January 15, 1897, and April 23, 1898. For example, his height stated at Dover is probably excessive; previously it had ranged from sixty-eight, to sixty-eight and one-quarter, to sixty-eight and one-half inches; then, too, his eyes had been variously described as "grey" or "grey blue." His missing mustache had been called "tawny."

his usual bold and rounded and boyish hand, Crane signed it, but on the line reserved for Prescott. It was too much trouble to fill out another application, probably; or maybe the Cranes felt there wasn't enough time; anyway, Prescott drew an arrow from Crane's signature to the proper line under the "Oath of Allegiance" printed on the form. He then signed it in the margin. Annie Florence Taylor certified Crane's identity.

On the following day, May 18, 1900, the passport was issued. Remembering their near poverty, one can but wonder how they raised the money for the fees: one dollar for the passport, fifty cents for filling out the application in duplicate (which Prescott had done), and fifty cents for administering the oath in duplicate (which Prescott had done) — a total of two dollars. Crane was now free to travel "on the Continent of Europe." Despite the gravity of his illness, the party did not depart Dover immediately. Most likely Crane was too ill to move about under any but normal conditions. These conditions did not include the Channel, which was rough and blocked them and (Jessie Conrad relates) they waited for it to calm so as to cross. They certainly did not remove to the Continent until at least May 22, when Mary Helen Crane, the nineteen-year-old niece from Port Jervis, New York, received her passport. On the previous day she had applied and Cora had been the certifying witness.[13] Indeed, there is a strong possibility they did not leave until May 29 or May 30.

On May 22, Stephen Crane had two weeks of life left him. About these fourteen days very little is known. The party made Badenweiler, Baden, by May 31.[14] The town, a health spa, was situated on the edge of the Black Forest (Schwarzwald) in the southwest corner of Germany and some 1400 feet up the northwest slope of Blauen, a 3800-foot mountain that affords the town

[13]Passport Number 643, Passport Office, Department of State, and National Archives, Record Group 59. Mary Helen had left the United States on June 10, 1899.

[14]*Fremdenblatt für Badenweiler,* May 31, 1900. The notice in the little paper read: "Villa Eberhardt. Mr. Stephen Crane, Author, England. Mrs. Stephen Crane und Miss Helene Crane mit Begl., von da." Of course, the Cranes could have arrived prior to May 31. For this and other documents pertaining to Badenweiler, I am deeply indebted to Dr. F. K. von Siebold, Bürgermeister of Badenweiler, who so kindly and patiently searched them out for me.

a superb view of the Alps. The Cranes moved into Haus Luisenstrasse 44, also called Villa Eberhardt, owned by Herr Albert Eberhardt.[15] The town was noted for two attractions: the thermal baths, which brought as many as 5000 patients yearly; and its pure, dry air (mean temperature in the summer was sixty-five degrees), which was beginning to attract lung patients. In 1899, the first Baden People's Health Home for Tubercular Patients had been built.[16]

It is very doubtful that Crane ever left the house after his arrival there. He had come to die and die he would, quite soon, almost in a matter of hours, despite the efforts of his physician, Dr. Albert Fraenkel, himself, ironically, a victim of tuberculosis.[17]

On June 5, 1900, a telegram was sent to "Mrs. Crane, Villa Eberhardt. Badenweiler, Germany." It read:

[15]Deposition by Herr E. Brunner, town clerk, Badenweiler, West Germany, July 9, 1958. At first it had been thought by all concerned that Crane lived in Haus Schauinsland, Mittleren Kirchweg 5; but after some testimony by an aged, pensioned town official, Herr Gustav Schweinlin, another investigation was instigated by von Siebold and it was learned that the house on Mittleren Kirchweg was not built until 1901. Since Albert Eberhardt owned both houses, obviously the house on Luisenstrasse must be the place. It is still standing and a photograph of it is in possession of the outhor.

[16]*Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1908), II, 256. The character of Badenweiler's patients has since changed as radically as the treatment for tuberculosis. Today's more than forty thousand annual visitors include no lung patients.

[17]Albert Fraenkel was born June 3, 1864, and began his medical studies in Munich in 1883, completing them at Strassburg in 1888. The next year he contracted tuberculosis. After treatment in Reichenhall he went to Berlin in 1890 and was for a time the assistant of the tuberculosis specialist, Cornet. That same year he took up residence in Badenweiler. No ordinary country doctor, he continued his research and was regularly active in the Institute of Pharmacology in Heidelberg during the years 1893-1905. Strangely enough, Fraenkel's research was concerned not with TB but with heart disease, and he introduced the important Strophanthin therapy in April, 1906. The remainder of his long life was devoted to his patients and his work in heart conditions; his fame, by no means local, grew, especially with his founding of the health homes Haus Waldeck and Villa Hedwig in Badenweiler. He died December 22, 1938. See *Kur-und Badenblatt,* Folge 12, June 1, 1957, pp. 7-9.

His widow, Frau Erna Fraenkel, was still living, in Heidelberg, in the summer of 1958. A letter from her, dated July 9, 1958, to Dr. F. K. von Siebold is of interest, I think. In part, it reads: "I have searched in the posthumous papers of my husband but have not found any notations about the illness of . . . Stephen Crane. I still remember the case, myself, because it gave my husband great concern. . . . The patient remained in my husband's memory a long time, since during the treatment he had received the impression, in Crane, of a singular personality. His hard suffering and early death moved my husband greatly. I'm sorry that I can't give you an authentic report from the notations of my husband. My own memories will hardly be of service. . . ."

Regret to hear of Mr. Crane's death. Germany Embassy here has no jurisdiction in matter. Better apply to Wood American Consul at Kehl or if necessary Embassy Berlin. I have telegraphed Ambassador White.

CHOATE

J. H. Choate, American Embassy[18]

The "matter" about which Cora was so vitally interested was the transportation of Crane's body back to England and eventually to the United States. In her grief she seems to have turned to the German ambassador to England. We can speculate that Crane had insisted he not be buried in foreign soil, that he not become yet another writer permanently removed from his home. His roots were too deeply embedded regardless of his "rambles" in Greece, England, Cuba, Mexico, Ireland.

Ambassador Choate seems to have telegraphed Cora first, then Ambassador White in Berlin. Anyhow, at 1:25 P.M., he got off a message to the embassy there which was received at 3:30. The diplomatic machinery was in motion.

have received telegram informing me stephen crane died villa ebrardt [eberhardt] badenweiler and requesting me to arrange removal remains to england have advised applying to our consul kehl or if necessary to you please do anything you can CHOATE[19]

White and the embassy staff decided that Alexander Wood at Kehl, across the Rhine from Strasbourg, was too far away from Badenweiler to be effective. What was needed was a man who could get into the spa and get the body out on the road to Müllheim, some four and one-half miles west of Badenweiler, and thence to the main north-south rail from Basel to Freiburg, a station on which was a short distance west of Müllheim. John B. Jackson, secretary of the American embassy in Berlin, wasted little time. He dispatched a message to E. Theophilus Liefeld, the American Consul at Freiburg: "At instance of Ambassador

[18]National Archives, Record Group 84, Volume 73. The handwriting, in ink, is badly smeared. The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Great Britain was the noted New York lawyer Joseph Hodges Choate (1832-1917), Harvard and Harvard Law School graduate and ambassador, 1899-1905. Alexander Wood, of Pennsylvania, was the United State consul at Kehl. The American ambassador in Berlin was Andrew Dickson White (1832-1918), former president of Cornell University, 1867-85, and in the embassy since 1897.

[19]*Ibid.*

[20]*Ibid.*

Choate Embassy requests you to facilitate removal to England of remains of Stephen Crane who died at Villa Ebrardt [Eberhardt] Badenweiler."[20] Jackson then at once informed the Embassy in London that he had requested "Consul at Freiburg to facilitate Cranes remains."[21]

The problem was now Liefeld's.

Meanwhile in Badenweiler, on June 6, Herr Albert Eberhardt appeared at the Registrar's office (Standesbeamte), reported Crane's death, and sturdily signed death certificate Number 8. The following is a translation of the original German:

> Badenweiler on 6 June 1900. The undersigned person appeared before the Registrar today, known as the private citizen Albert Eberhardt, living in Badenweiler, and reported that the author Stephan [*sic*] Crane, 28 years old, Lutheran religion, living in (Badenweiler) Newark U.S.A., born in Newark — New Jersey (America), U.S.A., of late married to Cora Crane, born Howarth, son of Reverend Townley Crane and of his wife Maria Helen Crane, born Peck, both dead, died in Badenweiler in the cited person's residence on the 5th of June, 1900, at 3 A.M. Read, approved and signed *Albert Eberhardt, The Registrar.* Witnessed by Josef Paul.[22]

What may strike us as strange today, i.e., that the owner of a house in which a death occurred reported the fact rather than the attending physician, was always the custom in Germany and still is. The same custom was observed in the matter of births. Chances are that Herr Eberhardt had very little idea of the identity or the fame of his guests.

That same day, June 6, 1900, the American Embassy in Berlin received the following telegram, via Müllheim, from Liefeld who had gone to Badenweiler: "personally superintending removal of remains of stephen crane to england [*signed:*] amerconsul freiburg."[23] Whatever Liefeld's difficulties, and Cora's, too, for that matter, were can only be imagined. It would have been much simpler to bury Crane there in the watering place, but Crane's life had never been simple, for him or for those who were with him. The funeral cortege was in Freiburg by June 8.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Registrar's office, Badenweiler; photocopied May 10, 1958. I am indebted to Dr. F. K. von Siebold for this document. The above is a precise translation of the certificate, but with the lines placed consecutively and punctuation inserted where needed.

[23] National Archives, Record Group 84, Volume 73. Scrawled in pencil across the face of the message was this notation: "Rec'd June 6. JBJ."

If we can trust the memory of Frau Fraenkel, it was here that a pathologist finally embalmed the body. Because of the temperate climatic conditions, the remains were undoubtedly in good condition except for possibly some skin-slip.

Here Liefeld delivered to the American authorities in Berlin a report of progress.

I beg to inform you that all the necessary preparations and details in the case of Stephen Crane, deceased, are new completed and remains will be removed to-day via Mayence [Mainz], Cologne, Brussels, Calais to Dover. I expect to accompany and superintend the removal as far as Calais.

Mrs. Crane desires me to specially mention the kindness and consideration with which she has been treated by the authorities of Badenweiler, especially the name of Dr. Alb. Fraenkel, who attended Mr. Crane during his short residence there.[24]

The journey down the valley of the Rhine, then across Belgium to Brussels, thence to Calais for the Channel crossing was a long one but one rather quickly made. Friends in England had been alerted, Robert Barr among them. On the day Cora and Liefeld left Freiburg, Barr revealed to a friend, the same who heard about Crane at Dover: "Tomorrow, Saturday, the 9th, I go again to Dover to meet his body. He will rest a little while in England, a country that was always good to him, then to America, and his journey will be ended."[25]

Liefeld may have been confident that necessary "preparations and details" had been completed in Germany; however, this was not quite to be the case in England. Crane's passion for horses and dogs almost inevitably, it would appear, entangled his final journey in a legalistic snag: the prohibition of the entrance of his dog, Sponge, into the country. Carter at the London embassy wearily wrote to the Board of Agriculture in Whitehall Place, even while the cortege was en route.

June 8th [1900]

Dear Mr. Arbuthnot

I had thought it would be possible never to trouble you again in regard to the vexatious [?] introduction of dogs into England. The peculiarly sad circumstances to which the [?] enclosed letter from our Consular Agent

[24]National Archives, Record Group 84, Volume 81. The letter, written on Consular Service stationery, was stamped "RECD. June 9, 1900" by the Embassy in Berlin.

[25]Stallman, *Omnibus*, p. 695.

at Dover (M^r. Prescott) relates, leads one to think that perhaps just this once you might see your way to granting the request —

M^r. Crane a young and brilliant Author has been living in England in the country for nearly two years and some ten days ago in a desperate condition of health left Dover for the Black Forest in the hope of recuperation — he has since unhappily died and his widow is returning here —

M^r. Choate would be extremely obliged if you could enable him in any way to meet with M^rs. Crane's wishes in the proceedings [?] —

The dog has always been in England, as I understand, and left Dover with M^r. Crane a short time ago.

Believe me
Yours very sincerely
J. R. CARTER[26]

If I decipher Jessie Conrad's cryptic and disorganized prose rightly, Prescott's letter seems to have been sent at the insistence of Cora who telegraphed "their man of business" on June 5: "God took Stephen at 11:5 [*sic*], make some arrangement for me to get the dog home."[27] I am assuming, too, that the Cranes left their affairs in Prescott's care just prior to their crossing the Channel; if so, they had neglected to tell him that they were taking Sponge with them.

This almost ridiculous Victorian tragedy, sentimental to the extreme, makes an almost ridiculous ending to Crane's life and times in England; and all the more so because we do not know whether Mr. Gerald A. Arbuthnot relented or whether the Right Honorable Walter Hume Long, Conservative member from West Derby, Liverpool, instructed his inspectors to forego their duties this one time.

[26]National Archives, Record Group 84, Volume 73. The letter, apparently a copy, is extremely faded which accounts for the doubtful readings. Prescott's letter has not been found. Gerald A. Arbuthnot was the private secretary to the Rt. Hon. Walter Hume Long, M.P., president of the Board of Agriculture, the governmental body responsible for administering the provisions of the Diseases of Animals Acts, 1894 and 1896, and the Importation of Dogs Order of May 7, 1897, amended June 14, 1898, which provided, in part, (1) that "an imported dog . . . shall not be landed in Great Britain unless its landing is authorized by a license of the Board previously obtained" and (2) that "an imported dog shall, for a period of six calendar months after its landing, be detained and isolated at the expense of its owner . . ." See *Handbook; Diseases of Animals Acts and Orders* (London: Printed for H. M. Stationery Office by Darling & Son, Ltd., 1899), No. 6396, pp. 1-2.

[27]*Conrad and His Circle*, p. 75.

However, Crane's body was admitted and Professor John Berryman, in his often mysterious way, without reference or authority, write that "the body was on London view in a stall between champing horses, off a littered sableyard, where it looked to an old friend as if its tenant had suffered horribly."[28] Another friend, Jessie Conrad again, describes the arrangements somewhat differently and not quite so vaguely: "I always thought that it was a terrible pity the poor corpse should have to lie in a London mortuary waiting for a passage to America for so long. There was a glass let in the lid of the coffin, and people were allowed to take a last look at poor Stephen, and leave their cards at the mortuary."[29]

Officialdom was not as yet finished with the case of Stephen Crane, deceased. There were letters and forms to be written. One of these came from the American Embassy in Berlin, dated June 11, 1900:

E. Theophilus Liefeld, Esq.
U. S. Consul Freiburg, Baden.

SIR: — The Embassy acknowledges the due receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, and of the telegram which preceded it by a day or two, in regard to the removal of the remains of the late Mr. Stephen Crane from Badenweiler to England. This matter was brought to your attention at the instance of the American Ambassador in London, and the Embassy presumes that you have communicated with Mr. Choate in regard to it. Your action in the matter is fully appreciated.

The Embassy notes with much pleasure Mrs. Crane's recognition of the kindness and consideration extended to her by the local authorities and Dr. Alb. Fraenkel.

I am, Sir,

Your Obt. servt.
JOHN B. JACKSON,
Sec'y of Embassy.[30]

Another letter, probably the final letter of this group, was sent July 2, 1900, from Freiburg. It serves as a summary of the entire affair.

[28] *Stephen Crane* (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1950), p. 260.
[29] *Conrad and His Circle*, p. 75. The mortuary remains unidentifiable.
[30] National Archives, Record Group 84, Volume 54.

Honorable David J. Hill
Assistant Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

SIR:

It becomes my duty to report to you the death of an American citizen, Mr. Stephen Crane, the war correspondent and author, at his temporary residence in Badenweiler, Baden, on June 5th, 1900, at 3 o'clock A.M., at an age of 28 years. The immediate cause being tuberculosis.

Mr. Crane was born in Newark, N.J., U.S.A., and was the son of Rev. Townley Crane and Maria Helene Crane nee Peck, both now deceased. His wife Cora Crane nee Howarth alone survives him.

Word was received by me from the Hon. Ambassador at London, Eng. via Embassy at Berlin, by telegram, announcing the sad and untimely death of Mr. Crane, and requesting that aid be given Mrs. Crane in obtaining a permit for the removal of the remains to America via England. I immediately interested myself in the matter, superintended the removal and accompanied the party on account of the formalities at the various boundary lines via Mannheim, Cologne, Brussels to Calais, France.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant
E. THEOPHILUS LIEFELD
U.S. Consul.

Enclosure: Death Certificate.[31]

Across the face of the first page of Liefeld's report, Number 53, is a chilling bit of official gobbledygook in the form of stamped and written notes: "3rd. ASST. SECRETARY/JUL 28 1900" (oval stamp), "Cons Bureau/Note & Ack" (handwritten note), "Consular Bureau./JUL 28 1900" (rectangular stamp), "CONSULAR BUREAU./NOTED" (stamped), "INDEX BUREAU/REC'D. JUL 28 '00/Dept. of State" (circular stamp), and "Ackd by/form/Sep 1/1900" (handwritten note in the right margin).

[31]National Archives, Record Group 59, Despatches, Freiburg, Volume 1, Despatch 53. A search of the records of both the Archives and the Department of State failed to turn up this copy of Crane's death certificate. It is pointed out that until this document and the others indicated in the course of this article are found such a study of the last days of Crane's life must be termed "preliminary." David Jayne Hill, of New York, was First Assistant Secretary of State under John Hay and had so served since October 25, 1898.

Central New Jersey Chairmaking of the Nineteenth Century

WILLIAM H. MAC DONALD

Concluded from the April issue

DAVID LAIRD. David Laird, born March 9, 1797, died January 2, 1879, an undertaker and grocer, had a cabinetmaking shop in which chairs were made as well as coffins and some furniture. The business was on the site of the present Lodge Hall at Englishtown. Before the death of David, one son assumed responsibility for the undertaking business, another for the grocery; the chairmaking enterprise was abandoned.

Laird employed helpers and may not have made chairs himself. One such helper was John Reid Jewell. Both rush-seat and cane-seat chairs were made at the Laird shop. One chair claimed by a decendant to have been the product of this shop has a cane seat, a sawed-out frame with two undecorated slats at the back. The wide top slat was fastened to the posts by a single screw through each post and extending into the slat. In the account book of David Laird there is an entry under date of January 14, 1847, of the sale to a customer at Hightstown, New Jersey: "6 Black Chairs $3.00; 1 Rocking Chair $1.17½; 2 Sewing Chairs $1.50." No further description of these chairs is given in the account book.

ZEBULON CLAYTON BYARD. This maker of several styles of chairs was born in 1810 at the farm house of his grandfather Zebulon Clayton at Manalapan, Monmouth County. His father, who came to the United States from England, was by training and profession a portrait painter. He sought customers while traveling about the country and in his capacity as an itinerant artist visited the home of Zebulon Clayton of Manalapan and later became a member of this household through marriage to one of the Clayton daughters.

After the death of his father, the boy Zebulon Clayton Byard, at the age of four, went to live with an aunt in Philadelphia. When about sixteen years old, he was apprenticed to a chairmaker operating a shop near or on Vine Street. He completed his apprenticeship with some difficulty, in view of his lively interest (much to the disappointment of the aunt) in a nearby training place for boxers. As a result of this divided interest he became skillful in boxing as well as in chairmaking.

Perhaps influenced by her desire to discourage the nephew from a career of professional boxing, his aunt bought a farm on the Allentown-Robbinsville road near Allentown, New Jersey. Zebulon came to this farm while still a young man and, although he did some farming and also some chairmaking, life on the farm evidently was not appealing to him and he left.

After marriage, he and his wife Mary settled in a house on a small tract of land at Allentown, east of the road from Allentown to Robbinsville, south of and adjoining the pond. In 1848, a small building on the west side of the road was purchased and he moved to the east side on the bank of the pond; it was here he made chairs and later his son Charles followed in the business. The building was torn down about 1930. Zebulon is described as a powerful man, capable, resourceful, but lazy; a good dresser, inclined to be sporty. Chairs he sold locally, chiefly to fill orders previously placed with him; sometimes, according to tradition, the filling of an order might be delayed unless he was in need of funds. Wood for Byard's chairs, maple and hickory, was cut near Allentown and turned on a foot-treadle lathe at the chair shop. Rush was harvested along South River.

Zebulon Byard made chairs of the three-decorated-slat, rush-seat variety; however, he also made some rush-seat chairs distinctly different from the product of other local makers. In these chairs the rush seat, although straight across the front, was bound on all sides by a relatively wide wood band, and between this band and the front edge of the seat there was inserted a curved block of wood giving the finished seat a rounded or curved shape in front.

Zebulon Byard's chief output was wood-seat chairs and it appears that only his shop produced this type of chair in the Allentown area. Doubtless he had learned the trade of making such chairs while serving his apprenticeship in Philadelphia. Byard called these chairs "Kitchen Windsors." The seat was "dubbed out," or shaped, and both the front posts and the upper and lower parts of the rear posts were inserted into the seat, the maker claiming the posts were inserted at an angle and therefore justified the guaranty that any of his chairs which came apart would be repaired free. The wide top slat was decorated by use of stencil. These all-wood chairs were sold by Byard for one dollar and fifty cents each. He also made some all-wood settees.

Helpers employed at Byard's shop from time to time included Charles Clayton and George Rogers, who learned chairmaking but never had shops of their own; Dick Blanchard who worked at the Byard shop for ten years or more; William Rose who probably later had a chairmaking shop at Prospertown, New Jersey, and Charles Timble who later worked at a chair shop in Trenton.

Zebulon Clayton Byard had several sons who at times worked in the father's shop although only one followed this business seriously.

Charles Byard. This son of Zebulon Clayton Byard was born at Allentown on July 14, 1844, and when but a boy was put to work in his father's chair shop. Except for a short time when he was employed locally as a sawyer, he continued to work for his father until his marriage in 1866. Thereafter, although both at the same shop, each worked independently and they kept separated their stock as well as their finished chairs. This

arrangement may not have been entirely satisfactory since Charles soon moved to Manalapan and made chairs there for a few years. On the death of his father he returned to Allentown, continued chairmaking in the old shop and lived in the Byard home adjoining the shop up to the time of his death in 1929.

In addition to chairmaking, Charles did house painting, chiefly during the summer. He specialized in painting and decorating both the inside and outside of churches.

Charles made and sold the all-wood kitchen Windsor or plank-seat type of chair like those made by his father Zebulon. The spindles in these chairs were hickory. Also he made three-slat, decorated, rush-seat chairs, both in the straight and bent-back style, as well as three-slat rockers. Many of the later three-slat chairs by this maker had plain turnings and evidently were constructed from the chair stock produced at Bozart's sawmill. Only a few four-slat rockers were made and these were with arms. Some cane-seat chairs were made and on special request a few slat-back chairs in which the front posts had very elaborate turnings. These posts, however, were not well proportioned.

In finishing chairs, the Byards used a prime coat of white lead, turpentine and Venetian red, followed by a second coat of the same material and a third coat containing lamp black. The object was to get a tint suggestive of mahogany. None was finished in another color except on special order. Chairs were sold locally and also to furniture stores in Freehold and Trenton and to a store at Georgetown, Burlington County. For his bent-back, rush-seat chairs Charles received as high as nine dollars per set of six.

Charles Byard was a tall, powerfully-built man, a hard worker and a hard liver. He was taught to box by his father, who persuaded the son not to follow boxing as a professional. Charles did box some, however, and told of his last matched bout on July 4, 1866, at Hightstown, New Jersey. He was matched to box Patsy May of Camden, each contestant to place fifty dollars with a stakeholder, the winner to take all. On the day of the match, word was circulated in the town that the bout would not be tolerated and that should it be held local police would arrest the contestants. In spite of this difficulty, the match was held behind a barn on the outskirts of the town before only a few spectators. Charles won.

In decorating chairs, the Byards used stencils, although the elder, Zebulon, also did considerable freehand work. About 140 stencils preserved from the Byard shop show a preponderance of conventional designs. Stencils for slats are nearly all complete patterns. Many of these stencils are not skillfully cut. The few single designs do not include either a fruit basket or a rose, although each of these items is the central figure in some of the complete designs.

One of the stencils from this shop represents two lions; another represents two running deer facing in opposite directions. Bird designs were also included; in one a rooster is the central figure, in another there are four birds with wings spread, two flying to the left, two toward the right;

still another has two flying ducks. There are two boat designs, one of a single sailing vessel; one of several vessels near a lighthouse. A design of a swan with partly raised wings closely resembles a similar design among stencils from the Clayton shop, and in fact other stencils from these two shops are similar. The many conventional designs among Byard's stencils show a wide variety of patterns and combinations.

William Emmons. William Emmons had a workshop before 1850 just beyond Pullentown off the Allentown-Imlaystown road. Here he made brooms and slat-back, rush-seat chairs, and also farmed. Later he moved to Allentown, having purchased the property at 50 Church Street from one David Singleton on April 1, 1865. At this place he made rush-seat chairs, but in 1870 he sold the premises and returned to Pullentown, where he died in 1884.

William Henry Harrison Emmons. This maker was the son of William Emmons of Pullentown, from whom he probably learned chairmaking. Born in 1844, he died in 1922 at Hightstown. He, like his father, had a shop at Pullentown on the Allentown-Imlaystown road, where he made brooms and chairs. His chairs were the three-slat, decorated, rush-seat type, both straight and bent-backs. He did not make all-wood chairs. The style of some of his chairs was evidently influenced by the chair stock sold from Bozart's mill to chairmakers in the vicinity.

Locally he was known as Harrison Emmons and is described as a stutterer with red hair and with a reputation of being an honest man. His versatility included brickmaking from clay dug at Pullentown and fired in a kiln at this place. At his shop he put some rush seats in chairs for the Clayton shop but did not decorate any of the Clayton chairs. He made chairs at his shop in Pullentown for a period of about ten years with an annual output of approximately one hundred chairs, which were sold for one dollar and twenty-five cents to one dollar and fifty cents each. Later in life he moved to Hightstown and at a shop on Mercer Street made brooms and replaced rush seats in chairs. For this purpose, he used cattail cut from local growths; seventy-five cents was his charge for a new seat.

Anthony W. Kennedy. Chairmaker, church choir leader, singing-school conductor and house painter. His chairmaking business was being conducted in 1855 on Church Street, Allentown, in a building once used as a private school, near the site upon which the Grange Hall was later built. He made chairs for a period of ten to fifteen years. One report is that he came from Prospertown to Allentown and opened his chair shop; another report is that he was employed as a young man in a tannery at Allentown, then worked for Zebulon Byard long enough to learn chairmaking before opening his own shop. Even though he may have learned chairmaking elsewhere, he did work for a time at the Byard shop. While

the Kennedy shop was operating, one of the persons working there was John H. Clayton, who was employed for a short period after moving from Englishtown and before he opened his own shop at Allentown. Other workers were James Buckalew, who later had his own chair shop; George Cafferty and William Jameson of Crosswicks, who were hired chiefly to put in rush seats; and James Kennedy, a son who, although learning the trade in his father's shop, did not continue the business after his father's death in 1872.

Anthony Kennedy made only decorated, slat-back, rush-seat chairs. They were of fair quality. Chairs identified as made in his shop have a relatively short rear stretcher, thus giving to the chair the appearance of being narrower in the back than is usual. His chairs were sold locally at retail and also at wholesale to furniture stores in Trenton.

James Buckalew. This railroad worker and chairmaker, called by some James Berlew, married the daughter of William Emmons and sister of William Henry Harrison Emmons. He worked at the Kennedy chair shop and also made chairs both at Pullentown and at Allentown. While at Allentown it is likely he worked at chairmaking, either with his father-in-law, William Emmons, or with his brother-in-law, William Henry Harrison Emmons. Certain it is that about 1865 he had a chair shop of his own at 50 Church Street, nearly opposite Pearl Street, Allentown. However, since the business was conducted on the premises bought by William Emmons in 1865 and in a section added to this house by Emmons, they may have joined here in some way in the chairmaking enterprise. William Gulick was employed for a time at Buckalew's shop.

Buckalew operated his shop only a few years with an annual output of one hundred to two hundred chairs. He made three-slat, rush-seat, decorated chairs of fair quality, but no all-wood chairs.

William Gulick. After working at the Clayton chair shop and with James Buckalew, William Gulick in about 1866 joined with his brother Horatio in a chairmaking partnership. Each had another trade, William as a painter, Horatio as a mason. They first made chairs as partners on the second floor of a shop on Church Street, Allentown. Subsequently they moved to the shop vacated by James Buckalew also on Church Street, where they continued in business for a few years. Their output included both the straight and bent-back variety of decorated, three-slat, rush-seat chairs. It is probable all decorating was done by William Gulick. Their output was about one hundred fifty chairs a year.

William Killey. William Killey served as an apprentice for three years, 1865-68, at the John A. Clayton chair shop in Allentown and for a period of three years thereafter was employed as a worker in this shop. He started as an apprentice at the age of fourteen. According to the agreement of apprenticeship, he served three years for his board and the sum

of one hundred fifty dollars. Toward the end of his apprenticeship, he demonstrated his ability as a chairmaker by constructing unaided a set of six chairs. By so doing he was considered as sufficiently skilled to make chairs independently or to accept work as a chairmaker in an established shop. He then accepted employment in the Clayton shop where he had learned the trade; however, at the end of three years he gave up chairmaking completely and followed house painting as an occupation.

Chairs made by William Killey at the end of his apprenticeship have been preserved by decendants and at least eighty years after construction were still sturdy, three-slat rush-seat bent-backs with stencil decorations on both slats and posts. At some time, however, they have been refinished and redecorated by the maker.

Of five stencils cut and used by Mr. Killey, and which are in the possession of a member of the family, three are suitable for use on the top slat of three-slat-back chairs; two for use on posts. One of the slat stencils has a rose for the central figure, another has as the central figure an urn-shaped design and the third a modification of a fruit basket design. The post stencils are adaptations of the rope pattern.

The set of redecorated chairs known to have been made by this maker has the wide top slat decorated with a fruit basket design, the central portion of which matches the central portion of one of the preserved stencils.

Jesse Van Hise. Jesse Van Hise made rush seat chairs at his home at Van Hise Mills near Prospertown. A chair claimed by a decendant to have been made by Van Hise has a ring turning in each of the front posts both above and below the stretcher. This stretcher is flat. There is a block set in the rush seat over each front post. The seat is bound by wood strips. The back has two slats; the top and larger slat, attached to the posts by screws, extends beyond the posts on each side. The slats apparently were decorated by striping only. Van Hise made no wood-seat chairs or settees.

Abbie, a daughter of Jesse Van Hise, married William Rose. A tombstone in the Imlay's Hill Cemetery reads "Jesse Van Hise, 1796-1849."

William Rose. William Rose about 1850 had a chair shop on the Prospertown-Archertown road midway between these villages. In addition to chairmaking, he made brooms, farmed, and peddled farm produce in Trenton. Since his wife's father, Jesse Van Hise, was a chairmaker, William Rose may have learned the trade from him; or he may have been the William Rose who worked for a time at the Byard chair shop in Allentown. Wood for chairs was cut in local woodlots and turned into chair stock by Rose. He made rush-seat, bent-back, three-slat, decorated chairs, but he also made at least a few wood-seat rockers and some plank-seat side chairs.

The making of wood-seat chairs, even in limited number, strongly

suggests that Rose had gained knowledge of this speciality at the Byard shop in Allentown, since Zebulon Byard was the leading craftsman in this general area who made such chairs. A wood-seat rocker of the Boston rocker type, identified as a Rose chair, had six slightly curved spindles in the back. The seat is a single plank with the grain of the wood at right angles to the block in which the spindles end. Posts are set into the rockers and not attached to the sides. There is some question whether settees with rush seats were made by Jesse Van Hise or by William Rose or by both, but it is certain that one or the other made them. A settee identified to this degree has a back of two straight slats with each arm ending in a circle and supported by a short post attached to the seat and extending below it. This type of construction of the arms and their supports differs materially from the style adopted by John Leonard of Rue's Corner, Monmouth County, in the construction of his rush-seat settees. Rose died in 1863. He attended religious services at Imlay's Hill church.

Aaron Sutphin. Aaron Sutphin, the son of a local grocer, was born at Tennent in Monmouth County. As a young man he was employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company; however in 1889 he built a wheelwright shop at Tennent on the corner of the Englishtown-Freehold road where he made wagons and sleighs. At first he employed James Herbert to help stripe and decorate his sleighs and wagons; later he engaged Joseph D. Herbert to help in this work. In about 1892 he started to replace worn-out rush seats in chairs for persons in the neighborhood. This business increased and gradually he undertook redecorating chairs in addition to the replacement of seats. For the rush used he followed the practice of Monmouth County chairmakers and journeyed to the marsh along South River where he harvested the supply needed.

In the redecorating work he used stencils. These came from three sources; first from James Herbert, probably consisting both of copies and a few originals borrowed from this decorator; second, from Joseph G. Herbert who resided near and whose stencils were lent to Mr. Sutphin; third, some, simple in design, which were prepared and cut by Sutphin. The stencils are described in the data on Joseph G. Herbert. It is interesting that the book in which the stencils preserved from the Sutphin shop were kept is a grocery store account book of David Laird, Englishtown. From pencil notes in this account book it is likely the book came into Sutphin's possession with stencils borrowed from Joseph G. Herbert. Sutphin did not make chairs.

Michael Maps. In a discussion of chairmakers of Monmouth County it is fitting that mention be made of the Maps family of West Long Branch even though the first Maps began making chairs before the nineteenth century and the type of chairs made by the Maps, although having rush seats, differed considerably from the decorated slat-back type made by most of the makers herein mentioned.

A native of Holland, born in 1728, Michael Maps sailed from Rotterdam to the New World in 1754. On arrival in this country Maps, in consideration of the payment of the price of his passage by George Smith, legally agreed to serve said George Smith for seven years. For this Smith agreed to find and provide the said "Jurgh Mich'l Meps" with "sufficient Meat, Drink, Apparel, Washing and Lodging and at the Expiration of said Term shall give unto him one new suit of cloth and fifty shillings current money." The indenture dated December 28, 1754, was sealed in the presence of E. D. Holland, Mayor, City of New York.*

George Smith was a farmer owning considerable land in the present borough of West Long Branch, earlier called Mechanicsville. Meps or Maps, as the name was later spelled, was a chairmaker. Whatever may have been his legal obligation to George Smith, Michael Maps, evidently a personable young man, married Smith's daughter, Barbara. On the Smith land Michael built a home which not only became the Maps homestead but became noted as the house in which was held the first Methodist Conference in New Jersey. The house was photographed for exhibition at the Centennial in Philadelphia as a typical Monmouth County farm house. Michael Maps continued to live here during the Revolutionary War and until his death in 1802.

Michael Maps, in addition to other activities, made chairs. They were all of the rush-seat type but showed considerable variety in turning and shape, none being like the later three-slat, bent-back chairs. Some of his chairs were of the kind called banister-backs, which had high posts. Other of his chairs had rear posts of about the same height of the later three-slat backs. Generally he made use of turnings in posts as a decorative factor. One unusual chair by Michael Maps or his son, but attributed to Michael, has a

*Full text of the document:

"City of New York

"This Indenture Witnesseth That *Jurgh Mich'l Meps* in consideration of his passage from Rotterdam being paid by *George Smith* as also for other good Causes he the said *Jurgh Mich'l Meps* hath bound and put himself and by these Presents doth bind and put himself servant to the said *George Smith* to serve him, his Executors and Assigns, from the Day of the Date thereof, for and during the full Term of *seven years* thence next ensuing.

"During all which Term, the said Servant, his said Master, his Executors or Assigns, faithfully shall serve, and that honestly obediently in all Things, as a good and dutiful Servant ought to do. And the said Master, his Executors or Assigns, during the said Term, shall find and provide for the said Servant sufficient Meat, Drink, Apparel, Washing and Lodging and at the Expiration of said Term shall give unto him one new suit of cloth and fifty shilling current money.

"And for the true Performence hereof, both said Parties bind themselves firmly unto each other by these Presents. In Witness Whereof they have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and Seals.

"Dated the *sixteenth* Day of *December* in the 28th *year* of his Majesty's Reign *Annoque Domini*, 1754.

"Sealed and Delivered in the presence of E. D. Holland, Mayor.

Signed

GEORGE SMITH."

rush seat, square in shape but so constructed that one post is in the middle of the front, thus making the seat appear diamond-shaped in relation to the chair arms and back. Stretchers in this chair have "sausage turnings." The back resembles that of a kind often called "barroom Windsor," but with an additional piece or tier in the middle, intended as a head rest, somewhat like a type of comb-back Windsor. Unfortunately the feet of this chair have been cut off. Without the missing feet, the front post is fourteen inches high; the height of the head piece is eleven inches and the total height of this piece above the floor is thirty-seven and one-half inches. Each of the stretchers with sausage turnings is fourteen inches long. The seat is of cattail rather than the triangular-stem rush. The strands are heavy and so arranged as to give a checkered or zigzag effect along the grooves of the seat. This style of seat appears in other Maps chairs, including not only those by Michael but also by his son and grandson.

Frederick Maps. Frederick, the son of Michael Maps, born in 1756, was also a farmer who made chairs. He enlisted in the army during the Revolutionary War, saw action and was honorably discharged on June 3, 1783, from Captain Jonathan Holmes' Company of Lieut.-Colonel John N. Cummings' Battalion. He died in 1818, but not until he had in turn passed his knowledge of chairmaking to his son.

Zenos Maps. Zenos, one of the several sons of Frederick Maps, born June 19, 1786, followed in the tradition of his father and grandfather by occupying the Maps homestead where he farmed and made chairs. After his death in 1862 the line of Maps as chairmakers ended.

Members of the Maps family made straight-back side chairs with rear posts thirty-three inches high, slipper chairs with rear posts twenty-eight and one-half inches high, children's chairs with arms, having rear posts nineteen and one-half inches high and low-back rockers, some with spear-point, some with slat backs. In the spear-point type of chair the top slat was about three inches wide with three spear points extending from the slat to a crosspiece a few inches above the seat. The rear posts were flattened and shaped but not bent. Low rockers having slats to form the back have the rear posts turned but left round and straight. In fact, it is extremely doubtful whether any chair made by the Maps family had a bend in the posts. Zenos and possibly one of the earlier makers in the family also produced rush-seat settes.

It is a legend unconfirmed that in finishing chairs the Mapses applied to the wood, vingear in which rusty nails were soaked.

The Mapses made strong chairs, usually well proportioned, showing considerable skill in workmanship and variety of type. The workmanship shown in the rush seats of the Maps chairs, however, is only fair. Although Zenos, the third generation of the family, made chairs of the rush-seat type until about the middle of the nineteenth century, nevertheless even this maker did not produce the three-slat, decorated variety so popular in Monmouth and other central New Jersey counties.

OTHER MONMOUTH COUNTY MAKERS. The official 1870 census records for Monmouth County list as chairmakers several persons other than those above mentioned. Holmes Hendrickson is so listed in Middletown Township, John S. Mount in Keyport and Ezekial Johnson and William J. Wilson in Red Bank. It is likely the latter was an operator of some significance, since he is recorded as possessing real and personal property valued at $3,000.

MERCER COUNTY

Small shops for chair making in rural Mercer County closely resembled the shops of Monmouth County, although less in number. Trenton presented a wholesale market for rush-seat decorated slat-back chairs, and furniture stores in the city competed for these chairs produced at some of the small shops. One of these shops in Mercer County, but located near the Monmouth County border and the group of shops in Allentown, was reported operated in the village of Hamilton Square.

Joseph Appleton. The Appleton chair shop in Hamilton Square was established about 1810. The Appleton ancestor came to this country from Germany and settled on a farm near the village in which the chair shop was later conducted. Joseph was born in 1787, and operated the shop until his death in 1848. It is possible although not certain that he learned chairmaking from his father, John (1758-1795). There is no doubt, however, that the knowledge of chairmaking was passed on from Joseph to his son John.

John Appleton. The son of Joseph Appleton succeeded his father, at whose shop he learned chairmaking. In Joseph H. West's *History of the Village of Hamilton Square* (1876), there is the following item: "Chairmaking. The business has been carried on in this place sixty years by Joseph Appleton first and at present by John Appleton."

John Appleton was an active member of the local Methodist Church. His tombstone in the church burial ground reveals that he was born February 6, 1818, and died September 30, 1884. He is reported to have been very spare in build, so spare in fact that John was the object of a standing joke in which fear was expressed that during a high wind he might be blown against a picket fence he frequently passed and later be found wedged between the pickets.

John Appleton apparently had no helper at his shop and had no other occupation. The shop where most of his chairs were produced was located on Main Street a few doors east of the village center. Earlier it was at another location, probably on Mercer Street. Chairs were made on the second floor of the Main Street shop, the first floor being utilized as a show room.

In the earlier days of the Appleton shop, chairs of the spear-back variety were made and probably ladder-back chairs with high posts. However, during the period in which John operated the shop the chief, if not the only, product was three-slat, decorated, rush-seat chairs, with both straight and bent rear posts. The front posts of his bent-back chairs, generally but not exclusively, ended in a small half ball turning as a foot. He also made three-slat rockers. A spray of red cherries with green leaves was a favorite stencil design for the wide top slat of his chairs. At least part of the rush Appleton used in seat-making was cut by him from a basin at Trenton. He made a good grade of chair and Manning's Furniture Store in Trenton negotiated for the purchase of his entire annual output. Many of John Appleton's chairs, however, were sold locally. He did not make all-wood chairs or settees.

Daniel Titus. Daniel Titus made chairs at his shop on Main Street, Pennington, near the site at which the local bank was later constructed. Titus was an undertaker and in connection with this business he had a cabinet shop at which coffins were built. As an additional enterprise, at the Titus shop chairs were made. His product was a three-slat, decorated, bent-back, rush-seat chair. He died about 1898 when nearly eighty years of age.

Trenton Makers

Within the city of Trenton several chairmakers were operating during the middle portion of the nineteenth century. This is confirmed by items in the city directory. In the directory for the year 1854–55, are listed eight "chairmakers":

William Applegate, West State Street
Reuben Bechtel, 23 West State Street
Charles C. Cane, Pennington Street
John C. Cook, 27 Hanover Street
Wesley Cunningham, Woodruff Street
Abraham T. Reed, Woodruff Street
Henry Roth, Bridge Street
John B. Warner, South Warren Street

In the same issue of the directory, Robert B. Lanning, 14 East Front Street, is listed as a chair painter.

The city directory of ten years later, 1865-66, also lists chairmakers, among them some who were so listed in the earlier issue. This edition of 1865 named as chair makers:

D. W. Cunningham, Peace near Washington Street
Henry Roth, 45 Bridge Street
Frank Van Dreser, 196 Lamberton Street
Reuben Bechtel, 40 Warren Street

During the two-year period between the dates of issue of the 1865 directory and that of 1867, the chairmaking business of D. W. Cunningham evidently was merged in some way with the furniture business of Theo. Cook & Co., inasmuch as the later directory has two listings, one for "David W. Cunningham (Theo. Cook & Co.)," 40 Warren; the second for "Theo. Cook & Co., D. W. Cunningham) chair manufacturers," 40 Warren. Whatever the arrangement may have been, it apparently was dissolved, since in the directory of 1870, and also of 1871-72, David W. Cunningham is again listed separately as a chairmaker, with the address "over 116 Warren."

Comparison of lists in the 1854 directory and that of fifteen years later, 1869, shows only two names on both lists, Cunningham and Warner. New names of chairmakers first appearing in the issue of 1869 are Fred K. Rephart, Charles Adams, Benjamin Baxley, Silas W. Volk. Henry Clee, and Ogden Lanning. It is unlikely, however, that each had a shop of his own. Judging from an advertisement in the 1869 directory, Silas Volk was then specializing in repairing chairs of different types, although he probably also was working as a maker. His advertisement reads:

> chairs repaired by Silas W. Volk, #61 Greene St. (A. V. Mannings old place), upstairs, Cane, Rush, Windsor and in fact all kinds of chairs repaired at short notice. Having had several years experience in the chair business, in all its branches, he feels confident that he can give satisfaction to all who will favor him with their patronage.

This Silas Volk probably was the son of John Volk of Flemington in whose chair shop he worked as a boy and young man and who is listed in the Census of Hunterdon County of 1860 as a journeyman chairmaker.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

New Brunswick and Perth Amboy in Middlesex County afforded markets for the hand-made rush-seat chair, both (at private sale) directly to householders and also through furniture stores in these cities. While there were probably several chairmaking shops in the community, one family of chairmakers in Perth Amboy should especially be listed.

Moses Martin. Born January 28, 1783, died February 9, 1867, a descendant from an early Middlesex County settler, Moses Martin was well

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY CHAIRMAKERS: Three chairs (*top, left*) from the Martin shop, Perth Amboy, *c.*1866; rockers from the Martin shop (*below*), *c.*1841. *Right:* chair made by Jonathan Smith, Bound Brook, *c.*1820.

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY CHAIRMAKERS. Examples made (*top row, left to right*) by: Chamberlain shop, New Brunswick, *c.*1860; child's chair by same; William D. Hann, Flemington, *c.*1865 (rocker). *Bottom row:* Tunis Servis, Sourland Mountain, *c.*1835; J. B. Servis, Clover Hill, *c.*1845 (rocker); Henry W. Hartman, Sourland Mountain, *c.*1870.

known in Perth Amboy as an oysterman and chairmaker. An ancestor, it is reported, one Captain John Martyn, sailed around the world with Sir Francis Drake during the sixteenth century. It was a descendant of this Captain John Martyn who arrived in this country on the ship *Diligent* in 1638, settled at Dover, New Hampshire, married, and later moved to Woodbridge, New Jersey.

Moses Martin, a descendant, harvested oysters in a section of Raritan Bay and conveyed them to the New York City market by his own sloop. In addition to the shellfish business, which is somewhat seasonal in character, he operated as a chairmaker.

The Moses Martin home was located at the northeast corner of the five points at State and Smith streets, Perth Amboy. The chair shop adjoined the home. It is not clear where Martin learned chairmaking or whether there were employed at his shop workers other than members of the immediate family; neither is it now certain where the wood used in chairmaking was obtained. It is definitely stated by a descendant that rush used in seats was harvested along South River. Chairs were sold locally, but in addition, the same sloop which carried oysters also was used to take chairs made at the Martin shop to markets in New York City. A son of Moses Martin joined his father, learned his business and trade, and later became the successor to his enterprises, including chairmaking.

Obidiah Ayres Martin. The son and successor to Moses Martin was born May 8, 1817, and lived to the age of seventy-six years. Obidiah took over from his father not only the oyster business but also the chairmaking establishment and the sloop, which he too used in conveying to New York City markets both shellfish and chairs. At the Martin shop at least three types of chairs were made, all with rush seats, a three-slat rocker, a three-slat straight-back side chair, and children's chairs. It is possible that chairs for children may have been made only for a special occasion or on special order and not as a regular commercial product of this shop. Two rockers identified as the product of the Martin shop differ somewhat in the height of the rear posts and in the shape of the slats. Each, however, has round posts without turnings but ending in a ball-like top finial. In front and on each side below the seat are two round stretchers; in the back there is a single stretcher. Rockers are set in grooves in the posts and are fastened by wood pegs. In the back of each chair are three curved slats set in posts a little higher than posts in the three-decorated-slat rockers more commonly made in the small chair shops of the period. One of these rockers, according to a direct descendant of Obidiah Martin, was made at the Martin shop for the personal use of Elizabeth Langstaff Martin in rocking her first-born child. This dates the chair as having been made in 1841. A rush-seat side chair identified as a Martin product has three slightly curved slats, straight posts without turnings, with two stretchers at the front and on each side, one at the rear. The rear posts above the

seat are flattened in front, beginning at a point about the middle of the lowest slat.

A child's chair from the Martin shop is in the Hitchcock style with pillow top, a block over each front post and a wood band about the edges of the rush seat. The two stretchers on each side and the single rear stretcher below the seat are round. The front stretcher has a neat but simple turning. Another very small child's chair made at this shop, the date of which is fixed by a Martin descendant as 1866 or 1867, has two slats, flattened rear posts with ring turnings between the lower slat and the seat, with one plain stretcher in front, at the back and on each side.

All of the Martin chairs above described show a prime coat of red over which there is a finishing coat of black. None of these chairs shows evidence of decoration either by stencil or freehand or by striping. All rush seats are well made.

Obidiah Martin is described as short and slender in build, with curly hair and well trimmed side whiskers; studious and very particular in matters of dress and personal effects. He retired shortly after reaching the age of fifty years and closed the chairmaking shop.

Laban H. Chamberlain. Laban H. Chamberlain, one of the nineteenth-century chairmakers in New Brunswick, Middlesex County, was a member of a large family of children and at an early age began learning the trade of chairmaking from one of the Herberts in the Englishtown-Tennent area of Monmouth County.

Chamberlain came to New Brunswick as a young man before 1850, and made chairs at a shop on Morris Street. Later the chair shop was moved to Drift Street between Townsend and Redmond streets where he carried on chairmaking and also the business of house painting. During the later years of his active life chairmaking became secondary to house painting as a means of livelihood. He built his home at 141 Paterson Street.

Laban Chamberlain made three-slat, rush-seat, bent-back decorated chairs and rockers, children's low arm chairs and children's high chairs with rush seat, arms and a step. He also made cherry and mahogany side chairs with cane seats and rockers with high cane backs.

His bent-back rush-seat chairs generally had a double ring turning in the front posts a little below the seat. The front stretcher was turned. His chairs were sturdy and of very good workmanship throughout. A bent-back chair and also a child's chair identified as made by Chamberlain are decorated only by stripes on all slats and also on both front and rear posts. These chairs are finished in a grey color with a slight pink tint; the stripes are dark blue. This color is not the usual selection of this maker since most of his chairs of this type were finished in the more commonly found mahogany tint. It is also true that for decorating chairs Chamberlain did not depend alone upon striping, but used stencils extensively.

About two hundred stencils from his shop have been preserved. These are well cut and definitely superior when compared with identified stencils

preserved from other chair shops in this general area; in fact, so much care is reflected in the cutting of these stencils that the work could have been done only by a capable person who experienced pleasure and satisfaction in the result. Most of Chamberlain's stencils are small separate units to be combined in building up a complete slat decoration. Sprays of various kinds, single flowers, fruit and leaves are included as well as a running dog, birds and a butterfly. A spray of three flowers like daisies, with leaves, appears to have been a favorite and was so used that the flowers sometimes appear upright; sometimes horizontal. When this spray was used at the ends of a chair slat, the central part of the design was usually of fruit, a pear with two melons or pineapples. There are several designs of fruit baskets and separate stencils of melons and small fruit. For small slats there are several complete well proportioned conventional designs.

Laban H. Chamberlain died February 23, 1898, at the age of seventy-seven years. His son, Joseph D. Chamberlain, born in 1853, doubtless learned chairmaking from his father; however, early in life he specialized in upholstery. He worked for a time as an upholsterer at Manning's store in New Brunswick, then carried on this business in a shop adjoining his father's on Drift Street, then at a shop on Morris Street, and finally at a shop at the rear of his home at 267 Handy Street. Joseph did not make chairs but did repair them on request and very likely redecorated some. He did not put in rush seats, but when necessary had such seats replaced by William Rogers of Hightstown.

Henry Penson. The shop of this Middlesex County chairmaker stood at about the center of the village of Union Valley near the local Methodist Church. Just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, he came to Union Valley from Englishtown or vicinity. According to local rumor he learned chairmaking at the shop of one of the Herberts of Monmouth County. At Union Valley he married Catherine Clinton but shortly thereafter left the village as a member of the Union Army. At the end of his military duties he returned to Union Valley and resumed chairmaking. He died about 1900 when over seventy years of age. He is described as slight in build and wearing a heavy beard later in life; a great talker and having a sincere interest in the local Methodist Church. It is also a local report that while in the army he served as a drummer; certainly on his return from military service and for years thereafter he and his base drum appeared regularly in local Republican political parades.

In the chair shop, Penson worked alone. He made three-slat, decorated, rush-seat chairs with both straight and bent backs. A bent-back chair identified as his product has no turning on either front or rear posts; in front and on each side below the seat it has two round stretchers; in the back only one. Rush for seats was cut by Penson from the South River area. Chairs from this shop not sold to local people were purchased for resale by Cole's furniture store in Cranbury.

HUNTERDON COUNTY

Chairmaking in Hunterdon County, as a small-shop industry in the mid-nineteenth century, produced chairs which were chiefly absorbed in local trade but which were also sold to stores in Flemington, the county seat, and to some extent in other centers. In this area as in other sections of Central New Jersey, knowledge of chairmaking was handed down from father to son but to some extent the apprentice system was also followed in training workers in this craft.

Tunis Servis. Tunis Servis had his chairmaking shop on his farm near the Sourland Mountain church in the hills of Hunterdon County. A chair identified as the product of this shop is a straight-back, three-slat, rush-seat chair, plain but sturdy. The rear posts have no turning but are flattened in front above the seat. There are two plain round stretchers on each side and at the front of the chair. The front posts have a deep ring turning about midway between the seat and the upper stretcher. At the back there is a single stretcher but placed unusually low. It is unlikely these chairs were decorated in any way. The finish is black.

Tunis Servis is reported to have been a very religious man; also he is said to have been a poor man at least part of his life. There is a local story that at a time when he was without funds and the household larder was low Tunis prayed fervently for food. His prayer completed he opened the upper part of the outer door of his kitchen and almost immediately a confused pheasant flew into the room. The bird it is said was promptly captured and afforded food for the family.

Tunis Servis was making chairs early in the nineteenth century.

Joseph B. Servis. Joseph, a son of Tunis Servis born in 1814, learned chairmaking at his father's shop and later operated a shop of his own at Clover Hill in Hunterdon County. This shop, a small building painted red, was still standing fifty years after Joseph discontinued chairmaking in 1884. He died in 1888 and it appears that throughout his life he had no occupation but chairmaking. His three sons all were house painters; none of whom followed chairmaking. He is described as weighing about 225 pounds and demonstrated the sturdiness of his chairs by showing prospective customers that they would bear the weight of the maker.

Joseph Servis made three-slat chairs of both the straight and bent-back type, some of which were relatively crudely finished and had seats of oak splints rather than rush. Chairs of a set identified as by this maker have plain front posts tapered at the bottom, with two plain stretchers on each side below the seat, one at the back. The front stretcher is shaped to a small ball turning in the center. The posts of these chairs are oak and not the usual maple. The seat is of oak splints.

A rocker without arms, identified as made by Joseph Servis, has high slightly bent rear posts, with four slats, three of which are about equal in width. The posts and the stretchers are plain and show no evidence of decoration either by stencil or striping. The rockers of this chair are fitted in slots in the middle of the posts. Joseph Servis also made a two-slat-back chair in which each slat was sawed in a scalloped shape but was finished without decoration.

Isaac Horne. Isaac Horne, born October 27, 1809, operated a chair shop on his farm near the Harmony School House in the Croton area of Hunterdon County. At this place he made chairs as late as 1880 and between this date and his death in 1891, although not making chairs, he decorated some made by his son Jeremiah T. Horne. Since both Isaac and his brother, Benjamin, were chairmakers, it is likely their father also made chairs and taught his sons the craft; however, this is presumption and has not been verified. It is also of interest that the Servis and Horne family were related through marriage.

Isaac Horne farmed his land and during the winter season made chairs. His output probably never exceeded seventy a year. His chairs were marketed locally and were almost all ordered in advance. These were principally the three-slat, rush-seat, decorated variety, some straight and some bent-backs. He also made three-slat rockers and four-slat high-post rockers with arms. He made a few all-wood settees but probably did not make plank-seat chairs. On special order Isaac Horne made a few high-post rockers with a foot rest attached to the front of the chair across the protruding ends of the rockers. Maple for his chairs was cut locally. For seats, cattail was cut from flats in the vicinity although some of the triangular stem rush was obtained from "South Jersey." Stencils were used in decorating his product. In this work he used silver, gold and bronze powders. Slats of his high-post four-slat rockers were very profusely decorated, a small bird in gold color being the central figure on the widest slat. This bird, however, was usually surrounded by so many other designs including leaves, branches and conventional patterns that its presence could readily be overlooked.

His straight-back, three-slat chairs sold for six dollars per set of six; bent-backs brought eight dollars per half dozen. Rockers were sold for a little higher price than the side chairs. A son, Jeremiah, as a helper in this shop, learned chairmaking and later had his own chair business.

Benjamin Horne. This brother of Isaac Horne made chairs at his shop near the "Ferry" in the Harmony School section of Hunterdon County. He operated a small farm and on the same premises had his chair shop. His output was less than that from the shop of his brother Isaac. It is likely that both Isaac and Benjamin Horne learned chairmaking at the same place, since the chairs they produced were so nearly alike. William

D. Hann was apprenticed to Benjamin Horne and later had his own chair shop.

Jeremiah T. Horne. Jeremiah T., son of the chairmaker Isaac Horne, was born in Hunterdon County on December 14, 1833, and died in 1908. He learned chairmaking from his father, in whose shop he worked as a helper while young. Jeremiah's own shop was located on his farm at the end of Ferry Road, between Locktown and Sergeantville in Hunterdon County. In 1934 this building was still standing, although somewhat dilapidated and changed to serve general farm purposes.

His chairs in design, style, and type are very like those produced by Isaac Horne. Actually by arrangement, Isaac decorated chairs for his son Jeremiah. If Jeremiah decorated any of his own chairs, either by stencil or otherwise, the number was small. It is, therefore, impractical to distinguish the chairs of these two makers, as their work was so closely associated. It is almost certain, however, that Jeremiah Horne made a few chairs with cane seats, an experiment which neither his father Isaac nor his Uncle Benjamin appears to have undertaken.

John Young. John Young operated a chairmaking shop in the vicinity of the village of Croton in Hunterdon County early in the nineteenth century. William Gordon worked at Young's shop and probably learned the chairmaking craft here.

William Gordon. A shop on a small farm near Frog Tavern about one and one-half miles north of Croton, on the Croton-Quakertown road, was the place at which this maker produced chairs. He was born in 1820 and married the daughter of John Young, the Hunterdon County chairmaker from whom it is believed he learned the trade. His product was the slat-back chair with rush seat. He is described as a thin man, above average height. Later in life he moved to Frenchtown where he worked as a painter and not at chairmaking

Henry W. Hortman. Henry W. Hortman made chairs in the Sourland Mountain section of Hunterdon County. Later in life as he became less active in chairmaking, he moved to Flemington; however, in this locality he continued to make some chairs almost up to the time of his death in 1892. He was then sixty-seven years old. Some feel that Henry Hortman learned chairmaking from Tunis Servis. This possibility is supported by the fact that their shops were located near together in the Sourland Mountain area. If he did learn the craft at the Tunis Servis shop, he must have boarded with the Servis family or nearby since his home during his youth was either in Lambertville or across the Delaware River in New Hope, and therefore, a considerable distance from the Servis place.

Henry Hortman's father who was a wheelwright and blacksmith at Lambertville, kept an account book which was later also used by his son.

Accounts of Henry W. Hortman first appear in this book under the year 1846 and are entered under the address New Hope, Pennsylvania. It seems likely, therefore, that his home was then at New Hope. Entries during 1846, however, are of charges for seating chairs and not for new chairs. Records of charges for new chairs made by Hortman appear in the account book for the year 1847 and indicate his chair trade was then with families in the Sourland Mountain section. Since he married on September 12, 1846, it is likely he came to live and to establish a home and business in this area late in the same year.

Hortman's shop was near the Sourland Mountain church. In addition to making chairs, he made and refinished other furniture, did some house painting, and operated a small farm. In 1883, after he moved to Flemington, he carried on chairmaking for a few years and on a small scale in the basement of a building on Mine Street, at which a grocery was conducted after 1900.

It is related that members of the religious group supporting the church near his shop on Sourland Mountain followed the practice of total immersion in the rite of baptism, and for this purpose utilized a nearby stream. In winter, after baptism, the converts were most willing to hurry to Hortman's chair shop for warmth and to change clothing.

Hortman made good chairs of several styles. His output included three-slat decorated, rush-seat, bent-back and straight-back chairs and rockers, low slipper or sewing chairs, children's chairs and a few four-slat high-back rockers with straight posts. He made some wood settees with two decorated slats and a very few spindle-back rockers, in design not unlike the so-called Boston rocker but with a cane seat. He also made a few plank-seat chairs. In addition, on special order, he made rush-seat chairs with a block in the seat over each front post and with bands of wood about the seat edges. Some of his chairs now owned by descendants have seats of rattan which seem to be original in these chairs.

Wood for his chairs was cut from nearby woodlots; rush was cut from the South River area, although cured rush was also purchased. Posts being prepared for bending were steamed in the family wash boiler, much to the concern of Mrs. Hortman. Original stencils from the Hortman shop, possessed by a member of the family, consist of several complete designs for top and middle chair slats. One of these has a central figure resembling a rose with the design ending on each side in a maple leaf. Another design has a large acorn as a central figure with a large oak leaf at each end of the stencil. Two stencils for slats are of a shape different from the usual, in that each is markedly arched. Each has only a single design, one of a rose, one of a flower of sixteen petals. These, judging from the shape, would be used on a slat much more highly arched in the center than is usual.

Hortman finished the stenciling on his chairs with freehand lines of green paint with the outer edge outlined with yellow. Posts were striped with narrow yellow lines outside of wider green lines. Hortman's son,

Norman, helped at the chair shop. While most of Hortman's chairs were finished to imitate the color of mahogany, some were finished in dark green. A descendant of Hortman relates that for this special finish, after the final coat of green paint was applied to a chair, it was smoked with a candle. This however has not been verified.

Prices charged by Hortman for a set of six straight-back "common chairs" ranged from three dollars and fifty cents to four dollars; for "bent backs," five dollars to five dollars and fifty cents; for "fancy chairs," seven dollars. Rockers ranged in price from one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents each. His charge for a wood settee was five dollars. For a new rush seat his charge ranged from thirty-two to thirty-four cents.

Among tools from the Hortman shop is a narrow steel cylinder with one edge sharpened and which was evidently used in shaping spindles for his few rockers with long spindles in the back. The tool is so made that a square piece of wood driven down through the cylinder would be rounded.

Peter Berrell. This maker had a shop on West Main Street, Clinton, opposite the hotel and at the rear of Case's blacksmith shop. There he made three-slat, decorated, rush-seat chairs. He died about 1900. In decorating chairs he used stencils. Chairs accredited to this maker have a rose as a central figure in the decoration on the top slat. Both the rose and some of the leaves surrounding it are bright red. Peter Berrell is listed as a chairmaker in Hunterdon County census records for the years 1850, 1860, and 1870.

John Volk. Although born in New York State, John Volk as early as 1847 was buying small tracts of land near Croton in Hunterdon County, New Jersey. He is listed in the census of 1850 as a chairmaker in Raritan Township; in 1855, and perhaps earlier, he was operating a chairmaking shop near Dry Brook School at Croton. This building later burned and Volk transferred his enterprise to Flemington at a shop in the rear of the Deats Building on Main Street, and still later to a shop at the rear of a building nearly opposite the Hotel, east of the county court house. This shop also burned.

He made three-slat, decorated, rush-seat chairs. The chairs were assembled on the second floor of the shop and then taken to the first floor where the finish was applied and the rush seats added. He continued in business until about 1885.

In the census records of 1850, immediately following the name of John Volk, there appear the names of Thomas Volk, age 22; Abraham Volk, age 20; and John Volk, age 16. Each of these is also listed as a chairmaker and presumably, as sons of John, were working in the family chair shop. During the next ten years, however, changes took place. The census of 1860 lists John Volk as a "master chairmaker" but makes no mention of Thomas or Abraham. Two other Volks are then listed with

John, the father: Samuel, age 22, and Silas, aged 20. Each is recorded as a journeyman chairmaker and evidently took the place of Thomas and Abraham in the family chair shop. The younger John, listed as a chairmaker in 1850, evidently changed his trade, since in 1860 he is recorded as a journeyman carpenter. Further change in the Volk enterprise is indicated by the census of 1870 for Hunterdon County, which lists the elder John, now age 65, as chairmaker, but makes no mention of chairmaking as the business of any of the Volk sons in the county. Rebecca Volk, wife of John, now also 65 years of age, is listed in 1870 as a milliner. Thus during the span of a few years, sons took their turn in learning chairmaking at the Volk shop but drifted away from the shop and from the chairmaking business.

Another worker in the Volk shop who later had a chair shop of his own was William D. Hann.

During the last few years John Volk operated his Flemington chair shop he is reported to have devised and used a unique power unit in which a large dog by means of a treadmill furnished power to operate a lathe in the shop.

WILLIAM D. HANN. William D. Hann, paperhanger, painter, and chairmaker, was born in Hunterdon County, January 12, 1823. His death occurred in Flemington, September 9, 1905.

As a boy, William D. Hann was apprenticed to Benjamin Horne, chairmaker near Sergeantville, where he learned the trade. Following his apprenticeship, he worked at the chair shop of John Volk in Flemington for a few years, then opened his own shop at Sergeantville. He later moved his chair shop to Flemington, into a building known as Skillman's Wheelwright Shop, located back of a brick building nearly opposite the Presbyterian Church. His lathe and some other tools were left at the shop in Sergeantville in the custody of Hann's son, Rex, who turned chair stock used by his father in Flemington and who also helped somewhat in his father's shop. Rex Hann, however, did not follow the trade of chairmaker.

Chairs made by William D. Hann include three-slat, decorated, rush-seat, straight and bent-back side chairs and rockers; four-slat rockers with arms, children's chairs and a very few high-post rockers with five slats.

Hann used both stencils and freehand striping in decorating his chairs. A design frequently used on the top slat of his three-slat chairs had a fruit basket as the central figure. Another design he often used included two pears with stems pointing downward. Flower and leaf designs were used and a spray of three cherries. For a customer in Pittstown, Hann made a special lot of four dozen chairs each of which had a wood strip about the rush seat and in each the top slat was decorated by use of a stencil having a bird as the central figure.

His chairs were finished with a prime coat of red over which a black coat was spotted; rush seats were painted yellow. He made no plank-seat chairs. Rush was harvested in the South River area and hauled to the shop

for curing. Some seats, however, were made of rattan purchased from a dealer in New York City. In addition to private sales and sales through a furniture store in Flemington, Hann disposed of chairs at wholesale in New Brunswick.

William D. Hann is unique in that, of all the makers of the decorated slat-back rush-seat chairs in the Central New Jersey area in the mid-nineteenth century, he alone stamped his name on his chairs. This was done by means of stencils, the lettering appearing in black on the back of one of the chair slats. On his bent-backs on the back of the middle slat in letters about one-eighth inch high he stenciled:

Wm. Hann
Maker

On the back of one of the wider slats of his four-slat rockers he stenciled in words one-fourth inch high:

Wm. D. Hann
Chair Maker
Flemington, N.J.

These stencils were cut in brass and are well preserved. It is most probable William Hann did not use his identifying stencil on his cheaper straight-back chairs, choosing rather to attach his name to his bent-back chairs and his high-back rockers.

Jonathan Smith. This chairmaker, although actually a resident of Somerset County, had his shop only a short distance beyond the Hunterdon County border. He is mentioned particularly, since the chairs he made, although of the rush-seat type, differed distinctly from the usual three-slat variety.

Jonathan Smith was born in 1774, probably in Pennsylvania. As a young man he came to Bound Brook, New Jersey, then called Middlebrook. He married Mary, the daughter of Mary and Thomas Faville, and the young couple built their home on what was called Old Tea Street Road near Union Avenue, Bound Brook. At his home Jonathan Smith maintained his cabinetmaking shop where he made chairs and other furniture. This business was carried on in addition to farming. He died in 1832.

The output of chairs from this shop was definitely limited. A few chairs in possession of a member of the family are claimed to have been made by Smith as part of a set for a wedding present to the wife of his son. This son, Thomas, was married in the local Presbyterian Church on October 30, 1819. This chair has a rush seat, rounded in front, bound with a wide wood strip. The rear posts are bent. The front posts have bamboo turnings, are shaped in attractive proportion, have a deep turning near the top and are joined below the seat by two plain stretchers. The rear posts above the seat also have bamboo turnings. At the top these posts

are joined by two cross pieces with bamboo turnings and set a few inches apart. Inserted into the lower of these pieces are three spindles, also bamboo-turned, extending downward and ending in another cross piece between the posts a few inches above the seat. The chairs evidently were painted but show no sign of decoration by stencil.

Other Hunterdon County Makers

The official census records of Hunterdon County for 1850 list as chairmakers the following:

In Franklin Township	Joseph B. Slack, age 30
In Raritan Township	John H. Place, age 40, and William M. Place, age 22
In Alexandria Township	William Edwards, age 68

Joseph B. Slack may have operated a chair shop, since his real estate in 1850 is listed as valued at $500. However, he is not recorded as a chairmaker in 1860 census records of the county.

The Places, John and William, are likely father and son, judging from their recorded ages. Their birthplace is given as New York State.

In the census of 1860, Robert Crossley of Lambertville is listed as a chair manufacturer with real estate valued at $1900 and personal property valued at $500. Immediately following Robert Crossley in the census list, there appears the name Henry Krensen, age 17, chairmaker. This suggests that Mr. Crossley probably had a chairmaking business in which Henry Krensen was employed either as an apprentice or as chairmaker.

In the 1870 census records of Hunterdon County, James Ball, age 55, is listed as chairmaker in Raritan Township.

. . .

There has passed the business of chairmaking in small shops and the company of independent, hard-working men who produced in these shops the slat-back, decorated, rush-seat chair or a similar product. Most of these chairs have disappeared; many, however, survive. As a handmade article of household furniture so practical and, when new, so appealing to families in moderate circumstances, the preservation and the restoration of surviving examples are justified.

May others add to the data about the makers of these chairs as they operated both in the central section of New Jersey and elsewhere.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

In building its collections, a museum or historical society is dependent in large measure on gifts received from interested friends. When these individuals, their families, or their gifts, have been associated in some way with the vicinity in which the institution is located, the gifts assume especial value for they frequently help to reconstruct the past.

Such an interest is to be found in the Faitoute family, one of the early and long-resident families of New Jersey. For years the name was associated with Washington Street in Newark for, according to early deeds, the land on which the Newark Museum now stands was once owned by Moses Faitoute who died in 1828, and William Faitoute, with whose family we are here concerned, lived on adjacent property for many years.

WILLIAM S. FAITOUTE AND HIS FAMILY

William S. Faitoute (his middle name is given both as Searls and Sayre) was born in Newark, 1808. He graduated from Princeton College and in 1830 was admitted to the bar. However, the profession of law does not seem to have appealed, for in 1833 William joined the firm of Smith & Wright, wholesale saddle and harness manufacturers on Broad Street, as office manager. This concern, founded by Sheldon Smith, was one of the major such companies in Newark and in the United States. William Faitoute remained with Smith & Wright until his retirement in 1855, traveling frequently in southern cities to transact business. As we shall see later, he was in New Orleans in the spring of 1844.

Perhaps it was thoughts of love rather than of saddles that caused William to join the firm, for on August 12, 1833, William married Susan Caroline, eldest daughter of Sheldon Smith. The Rev. Matthew H. Henderson, rector of Trinity Church, performed the marriage ceremony and the following day a notice of the wedding appeared in the *Sentinel of Freedom*.

At the time of his marriage William purchased and gave to his bride the Chadwick house on Washington Street, next door to the present Museum Annex. Here the family lived for forty-five years. A map of this street, dating from the 1840's, shows the houses that faced Washington Park as belonging to Marcus L. Ward, William S. Faitoute, D. S. Crane, with the Frelinghuysen homestead on the corner of Washington and James streets. The Frelinghuysen mansion, torn down in

1956 and always referred to in recent years as the Mercer house, was part of the dower Charlotte Mercer brought her husband when she married Theodore Frelinghuysen in 1808. On his death the house was given to Charlotte's nephew, William Theodore Mercer, who had been brought up by the Frelinghuysens. In turn William left the house to his sons, Archibald and Frederick Mercer.

William Faitoute became one of Newark's prominent citizens. It is said that he had remarkable business talents. He was at various times a director of Mechanics Bank; he was an alderman during 1848-50; when the House of Prayer was organized in 1849 he was elected a vestryman; at the time of his death he was a manager of Howard Savings Institution and president of the Newark Gas-Light Company.

In the Museum's collection of miniatures are two of William and Susan Caroline Faitoute painted on ivory about the time of their marriage. Behind the portrait of Susan was found a pencil sketch made by the unknown artist for this painting.

The couple had six children, all baptized by the Rev. Matthew H. Henderson who was at Trinity from 1830 until 1856. Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon Smith served as sponsors for several of the children, the oldest of whom was William H. (1834-1842). A second son, Frederick Sheldon Faitoute, was born in 1836 and died of scarlet fever in 1852. Then came four daughters, Helen, Isabel Minerva, Mary Elizabeth, and Ella Caroline. The three youngest lived to grow up and it is to them and their children that the Museum is indebted for objects pertaining to the family which have come into its possession during the years.

Isabel married William Rhodes McCready but we have no details regarding the wedding. Ella Faitoute married Samuel S. Keene from her father's home on October 13, 1869, the eve of her twenty-second birthday. It was a big evening wedding, the marriage service being held in Trinity Church followed by a reception at 37 Washington Street. The wedding gown of white satin trimmed with a frill of *point de gaze* was later presented to the Museum by Ella Faitoute who, following the death of her first husband, married a Mr. Burnham.

After William Faitoute's death in 1870, his widow and Mary Elizabeth went abroad. Ella described her older sister as "pretty, a beautiful dancer and a flirt," so it is hardly surprising that while still in Europe Mary Elizabeth was married—from the United States Legation in Paris—to John Babcock Morris. For her marriage on November 2, 1872, she wore a traveling-wedding dress of faille in two shades of gray. Perhaps she was wearing half mourning for her father, but in any case gray was a very fashionable color in Paris just after the Franco-Prussian War. Mary Elizabeth's gown is now in the Museum's collection together with a bracelet of Egyptian faience scarabs dating from about 1500 B.C., a wedding gift from her uncle, Edwin Smith, who collected the scarabs in Egypt and had them set in Paris.

The young couple made their home in Newark with Mrs. Faitoute until the house was sold in 1878 to Robert F. Ballantine. That same year, incidentally, Robert's older brother, John Holme Ballantine, bought the adjoining property at 43 Washington Street.

Mary Elizabeth and John B. Morris had two children named for their parents. The Museum has a crib cover designed and quilted at 37 Washington Street for one of the babies by Mrs. Rachel Smith of Derby, Connecticut, a great aunt of Mary Elizabeth Faitoute Morris. It was Mrs. Morris who, one day in 1913, discovered the silhouette of her father on sale at Arthur Vernay's in New York City and bought it for thirty-five dollars. This shadow portrait was cut in New Orleans on the 19th of March, 1844, by August Edouart, French silhouettist, who visited in the United States during 1839-48. It is said that Edouart cut his silhouettes out of double paper so there were always two original portraits.

On his return to France, Edouart took with him a duplicate set of the silhouettes he had cut while in this country. However, the vessel on which Edouart sailed was wrecked in the Channel Islands and though the package of silhouettes was rescued, it lay neglected for years in an attic. Eventually some of the cut-out portraits, including that of William S. Faitoute, found their way back to New York. The name of the subject, his place of residence and the date, are written in faded ink beneath the silhouette of William S. Faitoute, while on the back appear Edouart's name and that of the city in which he did the work. If two were cut originally it would be interesting to know what became of the other shadow portrait. A silhouette of the Rev. M. H. Henderson, cut by Edouart in 1840, is owned by Trinity Cathedral.

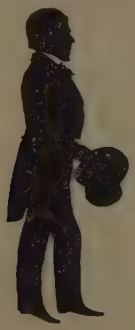
Many gifts have come to the Museum from the daughters of Isabel Faitoute McCready; from Marie C. Keene, only daughter of Ella Faitoute Keene; from John Babcock Morris, Jr. and his sister, Mary Elizabeth. Among these gifts are portraits of various members of the family; costumes; jewelry, including a charming cameo in profile of Susan Caroline Faitoute as she was in her middle years; a handsome silver tea service made for Tiffany in 1854-55 and used by Mrs. Faitoute; and several items from the Babcock family, for a member of which John Babcock Morris, Sr., was named. It might be well to mention here something of the Babcock and Morris connections since they relate to New Jersey.

James Babcock, born in England, came to America in 1623 and settled at Plymouth, Massachusetts. John Babcock, second son of James, moved to Rhode Island. He was the first magistrate of what is now Westerly and owned nearly all of that land as well as part of South Kingston. Eventually members of the family gravitated to New York and Newark. In "Antiquer's Attic" for July, 1956, there was reference to Margaret Antoinette Babcock whose portrait by Charles Crom-

well Ingham is owned by the Newark Museum.

John B. Morris was also descended from Lewis Morris (1671-1746) who was the first lord of the manor at "Morrisania" and first royal governor of the province of New Jersey from 1738 until his death. In 1691 Lewis married Isabella Graham and it was their daughter, Elizabeth Morris, who married Anthony White of "Buccleuch" in New Brunswick. Among numerous gifts made by John B. Morris, Jr., to the Museum are photographs of family portraits representing Lewis Morris II and his wife, Tryntje Staats; their home "Morrisania"; the three sons of Lewis II—Richard, Lewis III who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Gouverneur Morris who sat in the Continental Congress during the years 1778-79.

Brought together in one place, these various gifts are now helping not only to amplify the story of one family and add touches to the history of Newark, but also to link with that larger picture which constitutes the history of our state and nation.



William S. Faitoute silhouette by A. Edouart 1844

NEW LIBRARIAN

WILLIAM H. Gaines, Jr., of Princeton has been named librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society effective 1 July. Dr. Gaines is a native of Warrenton, Virginia, and a graduate of the University of Virginia. He was formerly a member of the staff of *Virginia Cavalcade,* an historic magazine published by the Virginia State Library, and more recently he was an associate editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* at Princeton University.

As librarian he will have charge of the Society's extensive collection of books and manuscripts dealing with New Jersey history. He will work with the director and other members of the Society's staff in building up interest in the Society's activities and in futhering knowledge of New Jersey history.

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THE PICNIC ON THE FOURTH OF JULY — A DAY TO BE REMEMBERED

From a lithograph reproduction of a painting by Lilly Martin Spencer.